

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN  
ONOMASTICA

BY  
ALAN H. GARDINER

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# THE ONOMASTICON OF AMENOPĒ TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(continued)

## V. THE TOWNS OF EGYPT

After the general word for 'town' (No. 313) follows a long enumeration of the towns of Upper Egypt, followed by a shorter one of those in Lower Egypt. The importance of this list, which is arranged consecutively from South to North, is such that it seemed necessary to treat it in conjunction with other lists of the kind, and these are exhibited in Pls. 24-7. An introduction to all these lists, including that of On. Am., has been given in the printed text. Here it need only be noted once more that Nos. marked with A or B in the following Commentary are not found in On. Am. at all, but are intercalated to explain entries in the other lists of the Comparative Table.

[313] 𢃠𢃠 G; 𢃠𢃠 W.b., dmi 'town', so here to be rendered, since serving at least in part as heading to the following list. For the word see Wb. V, 455, 6 ff.; properly a 'place which one "touches" (dmi) or reaches', see Vogelsang in Sethe, Unters. VI, 119, but when determined with o (Wb. states in O.K. and M. K., but where?) doubtless already in sense of 'town' or 'village'. In N. K. we find niwt, dmiw, whwt 'cities, towns, villages'; Davies, El-Amarna, VI, 27, 11 (if Bouriant was right in reading shywt, it must be emended); Cairo 39410 = Mélanges Max-Hbero, I, 821, and the title ḥsty-i 'mayor' attached to dmi above, No. 101, gives support to the rendering 'town'; however, demotic and Coptic (<sup>5</sup> + ME, <sup>8</sup> + MI) use the word to render κώμη, Coptic expressing 'town' by πολίς. [314] 𢃠𢃠 G; 𢃠𢃠 W.b., Snmt 'Senmet'; lyk.-67vis (ZÄS XLVII, 166); the modern

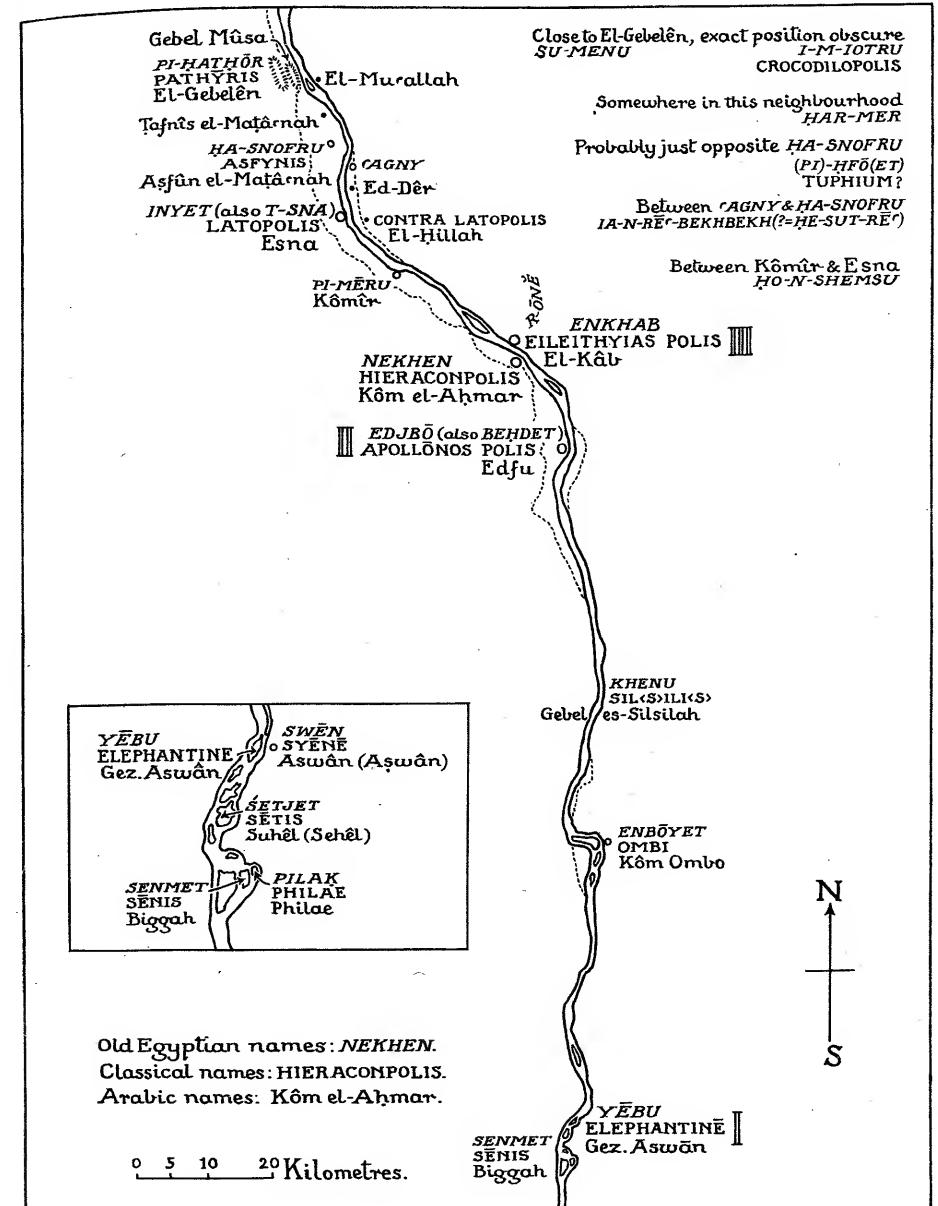
Textual Note. 314<sup>a</sup> Wrongly transcribed g in pl. 22.

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name  $\ddot{\sigma}$  seems more correctly Biggah than Bigah as often written. This island opposite Philae was regarded as the southern frontier of Egypt proper, as is clear from shipwrecked sailor,<sup>10</sup> and the taxation scenes in the tomb of Rekhmirer, see the translation of the accompanying legend in my printed text; the fortress is mentioned there and in On. Ram. 183; proofs of the identity with Biggah, *Bull. inst. fr.* III, 155 ff.; Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, in *Denkschr. Wien*, 1913, where the religious importance is fully discussed, but the location was known already to Champollion; other literature, Gauthier, V, 40. Khnum was the principal god, e.g. de Rougé, *Inscr. hiérogly.* 252; also Khnum-Rē, Lepsius, *Denkm. Text*, IV, 194, but for other deities see Blackman, *Temple of Bigeh*, 59-62 and for various monuments, Porter & Moss, V, 255 ff.

[315]  $\ddot{\sigma}$  G, 10-6, 3bw 'Elephantine'

'Elephantine' on the island of that name, gr. Ἐλεφαντίνη, also ίηβ (see below), Copt.  $\ddot{\sigma}$ HB (*Ann. Serv.* XXXVIII, 44), now called جزيرة أصوان 'The Island of Aswān' Gauthier, I, 3; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. (Steindorff); Maspero & Wiet, I, 15; the lists show the town to have been generally accounted the southernmost of Egypt; so too in the statements concerning the entire length of Egypt, Karnak, temple of Sesostris I and the cubit-inscriptions, Borchardt in *Janus*, 1921, pp. 119 ff.; likewise (e.g.) Sinuhe, B 226. However, in the earliest times Elephantine must have been considered an outpost in Nubia, the first Upper Egyptian nome being called  $\ddot{\sigma}$  zty 'Ta-Zety', i.e. 'Nubian land'; *Griffith Studies*, 361; Komi, VI, 54 ff. Sethe (*Unters. II*, 62. 81) asserts that originally the name 3bw belonged to the entire Cataract-region, but later was restricted to the island and the town thereon; this appears to be an exaggeration in view of other names from the neighbourhood to be quoted below, but 3bw may well at first have applied, not merely to the island, but also to adjacent portions of the mainland. The origin of the name has been disputed:



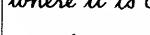
## SKETCH-MAP OF UPPER EGYPT

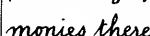
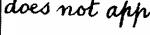
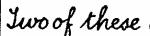
From Philae to El-Gebelen.

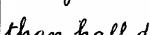
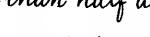
since bw means both 'elephant' and 'ivory', some have thought that the place was so called because of the active trade in ivory there; however, the elephant itself appears as determinative in the earliest writings, e.g.  Pyr. 234, and it therefore seems certain that the name meant 'Elephant', not 'Ivory', cf. Elephantis insula, Pliny, NH V, 59, and the place was possibly so called because at a very early date elephants were frequently seen or brought there; nevertheless, Wiedemann's alternative suggestion that the name was due to the appearance of the island as seen from a distance (Herod. 118) is not so impossible, in a modified form, as Steindorff imagined, for in Proc. SBA XXX, 206 ff. A. F. R. Platt published a photograph showing that some of the waterworn granite rocks S. of the island present an appearance not unlike that of elephants. At a slightly later date  is first added as determinative to the elephant (Urk. I, 107, 10) and then replaces it, e.g.  Cairo 20543, see JEA XVII, 58, n. 14, ultimately being perverted into ;  is found elsewhere as the determinative of  'granite' (red or black), Wb. II, 34, 3 ff., and obviously refers in the name 3bw to that most valuable of the products of the locality. The fortress named On. Ram. 184 and in the Rekhmire tribute scenes is mentioned also Brit. Mus. 852. Deities: the ram-god Khnum, Xwpw Neferib 'Khnum the great, lord of Elephantine', Preisigke, III, 394; Khnum-Rē in the Medinet Habu list A5; Khnum is also often called   nb Khhw 'Lord of the Cataract-region', see Gauthier, V, 170; Khnum-Rē, lord of the Cataract-region, also in the Denderah and Edfu lists of local deities, Brugsch, Thes. 619, 621. The animal of Khnum was a ram with horizontal spiral horns and hanging ears, Ovis longipes palaeo-aegyptiacus, but this early became extinct; the mummies discovered by Clermont-Ganneau are specimens of Ovis platyra aegyptiaca with backward-curving horns like the ram of Amen-Rē at Thebes, but with artificial gilded

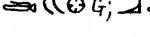
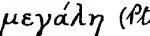
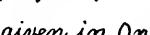
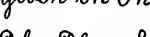
horns of the earlier type added to them, see Keimer, Ann. Serv. XXXVIII, 297 ff. The triad was completed by Anukis and Satis, the former having a temple at  swnw 'Aswan' at least from Dyn. XX (Fleyte & Rossi, Pap. Turin, 51, 2, oldest certain example of the place-name, for which see below), and the latter being specifically the goddess of the island of   'Sehel' (properly Suhel, see below, p. 196\*), Gk. -ΟΝΤΙΣ, see Gauthier, V, 94 f. and Roeder's valuable article ZAS XLV, 22 ff. The Haroëris of the Medinet Habu list (A6) clearly belongs to Kom Ombo, below, No. 316, but curiously receives the obscure epithets                       <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for water" data

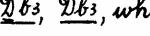
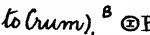
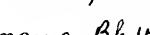
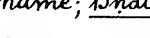
temple, Porter & Moss, VI, 179 ff.; deities at the heads of the two triads (op. cit. 179, n. 1), Haroëris, Suchus; for the Haroëris of the Medinet Habu list, A6, see under No. 315; earlier monuments, op. cit. VI, 201 f.

R;  ⊕ W-b, Ahy 'Silsilis', Silili in the Not. Dign., the modern  جبل es-silsilah, Gauthier, IV, 196, with a large rock-temple, tombs, etc., on both banks, Porter & Moss, V, 208 ff., 220f; chief god, Suehus, Kahun, 28, 2; Proc. SBA XII, 102. 106. 113; Breasted, Ancient Records, III, § 208; the hippopotamus goddess Toueris, Thoth and Nut were also worshipped in the neighbourhood as denizens of        B mw wcb 'the Pure Water', Lepsius, Denkm. III, 195c, see too for Toueris Porter & Moss, V, 211(33); 213(51); 217; for Thoth and Nut, 218; its religious importance, Sethe, Urgeschichte, §§ 151-2, where it is conjectured that the name Ahy 'rowing-place' was due to the impossibility of sailing where the Nile was so swift and narrow; the Nile ceremonies there celebrated, ZÄS XI, 129; Breasted, op. cit. IV, § 296. In On. Ram. Silsilis does not appear among the towns, only as the last of the series of fortresses. Two of these occur between Elephantine and Silsilis, but their names are more than half destroyed and unidentifiable. The Kôm Ombo list of supplementary districts (Pl. 24, col. XIV) is headed by  Ahy, not by Ombi as in the two similar lists at Edfu. [318]                                       

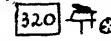
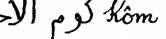
                                                        

the less it was probably given to it only because of the transfer thither of the god 'Horus the Behdetite', whose home was Behdet in the Delta, so Sethe, Urgeschichte, §§ 85. 146 ff., and myself in JEA V, 223, n. 1; XXX, 23 ff.; this view has been strenuously opposed by Kees, Horus u. Seth, II, 71 ff., who believed that the name as applied to a place in Lower Egypt was secondary; he was, however, unaware of important evidence adduced in my recent article. Har-Behdet of Edfu was essentially solar and often represented as a winged disk, but the texts frequently identify him with Horus, son of Isis, see JEA XXVIII, 31 ff.

[320]  G;  W.-b. (ends),  
Mhn 'Hierapolis', Gr. Τεράνων πόλις (Strabo XVII, 1, 47), the modern  Kôm el-Ahmar on the left bank, in all early texts written  and the like, with the reading Nhm, see Gauthier, III, 99; the late variant Mhn, of which W.-b. appears to be the earliest example, is well attested, op. cit. III, 18; Wb. II, 132, 3; the El-Arish list names the town twice, once in each form; the writing of G, here schematically transcribed from the hieratic (see Pl. 10), is undoubtedly distorted from , an otherwise very late variant of the name (Gauthier, loc. cit.; see too the Table, as name of an autonomous district, Lists XIII, XIV) which depicts the primitive image of the local god Horus, see Sethe, Urgeschichte, § 45. The site, on the left bank at the desert edge opposite El-Kâb, No. 321, has been excavated on several occasions, many objects bearing the name being found, see Porter & Moss, V, 191 ff.; curiously enough, the Survey 1:50,000 map appears to show neither Kôm el-Ahmar nor the village of Muissât between it and the river, but see Baedeker's map. The Nile here runs north-west, so that El-Kâb, though opposite, is further north; hence Hierapolis is given before it in all lists except Medinet Habu (A10); in the last-named list, two gods  Har-nüfer 'Horus the Beautiful' (A11) and  Harendotes 'Horus protector of his father' (A12).

follow without mention of a town; both are probably subsidiary or parallel forms of the Horus of Hierakopolis, since both occur on monuments from that town, Ar-nfr see Quibell, Hierakopolis, I, Pl. 46, 5; Ar-nd-hr-it-f in Bull. MMA 1934-5, p. 39, fig. 3. [321] G, Nhb 'Nekhbet'; Gh. Eil Avias nōlis (Strabo, Ptolemy, etc.), the modern El-Kâb, right bank, Gauthier, III, 99; for the reading see Eg. Gramm. p. 471, under M 22 and p. 515, under W 24, the inexplicable , the interpretation of which as nw in the of On. Ram. is doubtless faulty at that period, though it would not be unusual in N. K. and later, e.g. P. Ch. Beatty IX, rt. 14, 5; the writing with prefixed in G. seems unique. The nome-list of the temple of Sesostris I at Karnak shows that already at that time El-Kâb was considered the capital of the IIIrd Upper Egyptian nome, as it was in the Graeco-Roman lists (Pl. 24, lists XII. XV). Many tombs, a great town-enclosure and several temples, see Porter & Moss, V, 171 ff.; the publication of recent successful excavations by Capart has begun. Principal deity, the vulture-goddess Nhb 'Nekhbet' (Wb. II, 309, 7f.), identified by the Greeks with their birth-goddess Eileithyia (Latin, Lucina); Griffith (Proc. SBA XXI, 271) quoted a very late coffin on which Nekhbet, depicted as a vulture, says to the deceased, identified with Osiris: 'I protected thee in the womb of thy mother in the earliest time, and I will be thy protection eternally', Setrie, Hawara, Pl. 2; Griffith also recalls, among other facts, that Egyptian writing uses the vulture to write the word for 'mother'. [321A] Karnak goddesses, 4, R-int 'R-ōnē', i.e. 'Valley's mouth', Gauthier, III, 113. In the Karnak list of goddesses 'Lady of R-ōnē' follows Nekhbet and in the Medinet Habu list 'Nekhbet of R-ōnē' (A 9) immediately precedes (see on No. 320) the Horus of Nekhen (A 10). Thus this R-ōnē (for another see below, No. 382 B) is closely associated with El-Kâb, and as Brugsch, DG 47 and others have recognized,

refers to the valley immediately to the north-east of El-Kâb, where the temple of Amenophis III is situated; Gauthier is wrong in conjecturing a position on the Libyan side of the river. The variants in the two lists show some confusion with the name of Gelelén, see below under Nos. 324-9; writings clearly showing the etymology are rare, but one proving that int is a singular and means 'valley' is provided by the name belonging to the paternal grandmother of the famous sailor Ahmosé of El-Kâb, Mrk. IV, 2, 11; also Capart (Ann. Serv. XXXV, 12) quotes from his recent excavations an example from the reign of Ramesses II, where the place-name is similarly written, but apparently without mn. [322] G, Pi-mêru; Gauthier, II, 86 f. (other references, Chass., Edfou, VII, 243 f.); the identification with Kômîr, on the left bank 12 km. above Esna, emerges with practical certainty from data given by Daressy and Gauthier, but the argument has not been formally stated hitherto. In the desert behind Kômîr there are cemeteries of mummified gazelles described by Loret & Gaillard, La faune momifiée, 78 ff., see too Gaillard & Daressy in CCG, pp. 12 ff. An ostracon (Cairo 43660) found at Dér el-Medînah depicts a scribe adoring a gazelle that stands at the foot of a mountain, with the inscription etc., 'Adoration made by..... to Anukis', Ann. Serv. XVIII, 77; in the Karnak and Medinet Habu town-lists Anukis is given as the goddess of Pi-mêru. Both the related supplementary lists XIII and XIV (see the Table, Pl. 24) name a gazelle district, probably the Ghîti which the Pyramid Texts mention as the place where Osiris died, and which later had the cults of Khnum and Nephthys, see Gauthier, V, 220; Sethe, Pyr. Commentary, IV, 263; however this may be, the Edfu list gives as its town Pi-Anûkî, while the Kôm Ombo list has Pi-mêru. Thus the gazelle was certainly sacred to Anukis, Textual Note. 32. 2<sup>a</sup> Given as mn in Pl. 10 A, but undoubtedly only a word-divider; see note<sup>a</sup> on No. 295.

and a connexion has been established between gazelles and Kômîr on the one hand and between Anukis and Pi-mêru on the other. Further, the element -mîr in Kômîr, for which Crum, 180 compares -MHP in ΠΥΑΜΗΡ and ΤΜΟΥΜΗΡ is very possibly that found in the name Pi-mêru: Maspero is quoted by Gaillard as giving the village - where, moreover, remains of a small temple are reported - as Kôm - Mérêch: Weigall, Antiquities of Upper Egypt, 306 has 'Kôm el Mera, also called Hummir'. Instead of Pi-mêru On. Ram. has 'Hô-n-Mêru'. Lastly, reference may be made to the list of supplementary towns with their deities, Chass., Edfou, VI, 232; here Pi-mêru stands in the same position as op. cit. VI, 42 (List XIII), but the deity is Nephthys, not Anukis; Nephthys of Pi-mêru occurs also in the Esna calendar 5e (Brugsch, Mémoires, Pl. 10). 322A  Hut-n-šmsw

[323] **II** 144c G, 'Iunyt, 'Injet', gk. Λατόπολις (Strabo), Λάτων πόλις (Ptolemy), Copt.<sup>5</sup> CNH, <sup>8</sup> ECNH, Arab. Liw!, Esna on the left bank. Literature: 'Iunyt, Brugsch, DG 39f.; 1100; Gauthier, I, 54r. 215; Esna (I3-sny, sny), Brugsch, DG 720ff.; Gauthier, V, 38; VI, 31; Latopolis, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v., by Kees; Gauthier, Nomes, 114 ff. The evidence for the identification is worth restating. The preserved temple at Esna (Porter & Moss, VI, 110 ff.) shows the principal deities to have been Khnum and a goddess Nebu (old writing 𢀃𢁄𢁄 JEA XXVII, 31); so too the destroyed temple, likewise of Graeco-Roman date, 4 km. to the north-west (Porter & Moss, VI, 118); on a Dyn. XVIII group (Borchardt, Statuen, No. 549) a mayor of 'Iunyt has to wife a musician of Nebu; in Dyn. XX a Turin papyrus (Pleyte & Rossi, 155, 11) tells of deliveries of corn in the granary in the house of Khnum and Nebu in **II** 144<sup>2</sup>, see JEA, loc. cit. 30. 'Iunyt must consequently either be identical with, or very close to, the present-day Esna. In the temples of Esna

the name 'Iunyt, though occurring (e.g.) in the hymn to Khnum edited by Daressy in Rec. trav. XXVII, 187ff., is much rarer than Khnum, Iunyt, Iuny, I-sny, with many variants listed Lepsius, Denkm. Text, IV, 34. Elsewhere the element I is omitted, e.g. I Khnum, I Chass., Edfou, VII, 243. 245. This name, obviously the prototype of Coptic CNH and Arabic 'Isna' (for the Middle Ages see Maspero & Wiet, I, 14), occurs already in the Medinet Habu list, and Brugsch (DG 1100) claims to have copied at Silsilis the words I Khnum I Khnum 'Khnum, lord of I-sny in the midst of 'Iunyt', where I is doubtless the not uncommon misinterpretation of hieratic I (conversely, see JEA XXX, 36); this inscription might be of Ramesside date, and is interesting as giving the old name 'Iunyt, as well as the new one I-sny or Sny; the lists show a strong preference for 'Iunyt. The identity of Esna and Latopolis, Laton polis, is explicitly stated in the Coptic scalae (Munier in Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 138) and in the lists of Bishoprics (3d, Recueil, 51); also many examples of mummified Lates niloticus have been found in the cemeteries of Esna (Gaillard, Poissons, 81ff.), confirming the statement Strabo, XVII, 1, 47 that the latus-fish was held in honour at Latopolis as well as Athena, i.e. Neith, a goddess depicted in both the temples. Another goddess there depicted is Menhet, who is named at this point in the Karnak goddesses' list with the epithet 'lady of I Khnum'; so too Brugsch (DG 547, cf. 614) quotes from Esna a deity Mnh-s in I among gods of this neighbourhood, but he holds Hwt-hnt to be a name of Elephantine, while Gauthier, IV, 120 takes it to be a name of Philae, both surely wrongly, festivals of the goddess Menhet are mentioned in ll. 3. 8. 15 of the Esna calendar, Brugsch, Mémoires, Pls. 10-3. Nothing seems to be known about the district I (variants I Chass., Edfou, VI, 42; I I I I I op. cit. VI, 232, with Khnum as god) in which lists XIII. XIV indicate 'Iunyt as

situated; for the readings that have been suggested see Gauthier, *Nomes*, pp. 60 f. 323 A ist(?) On. Ram. 196. If the reading here hesitatingly suggested in place of of Pl. 2 A proved correct, the place might be the ist-n gnw mentioned in a tomb at El-Mucallah, see below under No. 326; much less probably the 898a of the Kôm Ombo list (No. XIV). 324 G, gn 'Agny', right bank, Gauthier, I, 137, 160; Junker in *WZKM XXXI*, 74 ff.; my note *JEA XXVII*, 25, n. 6; to be located, as Daressy acutely conjectured, though on insufficient grounds (*Rec. trav. X*, 140 f.), at or near El-Matânah; probably a little south of the railway-station of that name, on the right bank, say 4 km. downstream from Esna, and 3 km. north of the village of Ed-Dér. On this spot Sayce (*Ann. Serv. VI*, 163-4) found an extensive Middle Kingdom cemetery, beside one of the destroyed tombs of which he found cones with the inscription (read ) 'Divine scribe of the temple of Hathor, lady of Agny, 'Onutter'. Evidence confirming this not quite conclusive testimony is as follows: of the five lists in the Table that mention 'Agny' four - the only ones that matter - place it after Esna, and so does the list Chass., *Edfou*, VI, 232, of which the relevant passage is translated and discussed in a footnote to my printed text above, p. 60; this passage speaks of 'Akny (= 'Agny) as 'in front of , and Se-Rêc or rather Se-sut-Rêc, is given in the Edfu list No. XIII as the town of a district 'Horus of the East' which immediately after is contrasted with a district 'Horus of the West' having as its town Hafn (for the reading see the aforesaid printed note), for which the Kôm Ombo list (No. XIV) has Hut-Snfrw 'Mansion of Snofru'; see No. 325 below. Since Hafn, as Daressy (loc. cit.) recognized, is evidently Asfün el-Matânah, on the left bank 11-12 km. downstream from Esna, the data all agree admirably with the conclusion

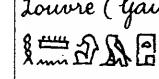
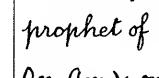
emerging from Sayce's excavation; clearly 'Agny must be (1) downstream from Esna, but (2) upstream from Asfün el-Matânah, (3) on the right bank, but (4) sufficiently opposite Asfün for the district in which this is to be contrasted with the district in which is 'Agny. For the close association of Hafn = Hut-Snfrw with 'Agny it may be noted that the Dyn. XXII statue Cairo 42221 (Legrain, *Statues*, III, 47 ff.) belonged to a Nesamûn who was at once 'prophet of Hemen of Ha-Snofru' and 'prophet of Hathor, lady of 'Agny'. For other testimony to the cult of Hathor at 'Agny see the epithet 'Daughter of Rê' in the Karnak goddesses' list, a 'prophet of Hathor, lady of Agny' in Černý, *L. Ram. Letters*, 48, 8, the title 'prophetess of Hathor, lady of Agny', Naville, *Pap. Nesikhonsu*, Pl. 14, l. 14, several mentions in the Esna calendar (Brugsch, *Mémoires*, Pls. 10-3), the name of the district in the Kôm Ombo list and in the Edfu passage referred to above. Perhaps the earliest writing of the town is Tylor, *Tomb of Sebeknekh*, Pl. 8, and here the det. presumably alludes to Hathor, unless this has some connexion with the word gn, var. of ng, see *Wb. II*, 349, 1 ff., and under the last entry. The stela V1 of Leyden (see the Table) speaks of 'the Ennead which is in 'Agny', and Junker (loc. cit.) interprets the following deities of towns (see the Table) as constituting that Ennead, in my opinion wrongly; see the translation of the stela in the printed Introduction to the Tables. The Αφροδίτης πόλις of Strabo, XVII, 1, 49 is doubtless not gn, as Daressy (reported by Gauthier) appears at one time to have supposed, but rather Pr.-Athr (Gebelén), see below, Nos. 327-9. The suggestion of Kees (Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Latopolis) that 'Agny' is to be identified with El-Hillah, on the right bank, where was a temple, now destroyed, with Hathor columns (see Porter & Moss, V, 140 f.) is refuted

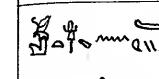
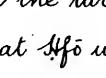
by the fact that El-Sillah lies slightly upstream from Esna.

324A 324B Two places in the district of Lists XIII, XIV. See above, No. 323A and below under No. 326. 325 G, Hwt-Snfrw 'Ha-Snofru', later Mond & Myers, Bucheum, III, Pl. 41, No. 9; Chass., Edfou, VI, 43 (he substitutes for of Dümichen and de Rouge); op. cit. VI, 232 Asfn, also according to Brugsch, DG 533 written Hwt-Sfn, source not discovered, 'Asfun', Latin Asfunis (Not. Dign. 40), Copt. CʒBWN (Crum, Epiphanus, I, 121, n. 10), CBWN (Proc. SBA XXXIV, 294), أَصْفُونَ الْمَاتَّنَاهِ Asfun el-Matānah, left bank. For Hwt-Snfrw see Gauthier, IV, 126; for Asfn, IV, 42; note that the Greek form, often given as Asphynis, does not actually occur; Asphyysis, Porter & Moss, V, 165 and the map, is a mistake, see there for the monuments found on the site, including the remains of a Ptolemaic chapel. With regard to the position, the essentials have been stated already under No. 324; apart from the obvious equivalence Asfn = Asfun, the indications that this town belonged to a district called 'Horus of the West' and was a little downstream from Agny are decisive. For the rest, the question of Asfn is bound up with that of Hfst (Br.-hfst) No. 326, but before discussing this it is necessary to deal with the relationship of Hwt-Snfrw and Asfn. Though the identity of these seems to have been tacitly admitted — clearly implied (e.g. in V. Véentier, La haute crue du Nil, 71, in the course of an excellent disquisition on the god Hemen — no one seems to have explicitly affirmed that the name Asfun (the vocalization is given by the Latin and Arabic) is clearly the later form, with metathesis, of Hwt-Snfrw 'the Mansion of Snofru', the famous king of Dyn. IV, whose name has thus survived, though somewhat disguised, for more than four thousand years. Did Snofru possess an estate or outpost in this region? The parallelism of the entries in Lists Nos. XIII, XIV is persuasive evidence;

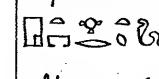
still more so the variant vouched for by Brugsch. For the deities of this town and for the district of Horus of the West, in which it was situated, see under No. 326. In place of the remains of a temple which P. Sicard is said to have seen at Asfun, Jollois and Devilliers found only some ruins (Descr. de l'Ég. I, ch. 4, p. 24), and in 1910 these were being rapidly destroyed, Weigall, Antiquities of Upper Egypt, p. 300. 326 G, R, Pr-hfst(t) 'Pi-hfst', probably on the right bank opposite, or a little to the N. of, Asfun el-Matānah; possibly the Touφior of Ptolemy, though if so, placed by him too far north; Touφior is also named on a mummy-label (Proc. SBA XXVII, 164). Literature: Brugsch, DG 494f, 1255f.; Gauthier, II, 111, 169 f.; IV, 27; Véentier, op. cit. 67ff. The oldest writing is Hfst 'Hfst', see On. Ram. 197, Cairo stela 20001 and in the Dyn. XI tomb at El-Muwallah mentioned below; this word for 'female serpent' is the Coptic ȝw, which, if preceded by the feminine article ȝ, might, in spite of the displacement of the vowel, have led to the Greek Touφior; the XIVth century list of towns of Egypt treated by Silvestre de Sacy, Abd-allatif, p. 102 gives جَسِبْ coupling a place Jafis with Asfun, but the 1:50,000 survey map gives a village جَسِبْ Jafis el-Matānah a little to the N. of Asfun, so that any connexion of Jafis with Touφior is impossible! The above-mentioned tomb at El-Muwallah contains the long inscription from which Vandier, La famine, 105 gives an extract concluding with the words 'I nourished Ist-n-grw (see above, No. 323A) in these years after Hfst and Har-mer had been satisfied'; the meaning doubtless is that places further afield were provided with corn when enough had been

<sup>1</sup>To this Crum remarks: 'جَسِبْ, لِجَسِبْ جَابِنَةَ (Vita Pach., etc., better than -nnēse). Etymology, Epiph., II, p. 198, No. 163, n. 8, tbt n s [i.e. 'the chapel of Isis'], cf. Ryl. Dem. III, 335; surely the best etymology yet proposed. There seem to have been two Gabenases, one called T. MNTOQY (three examples), one distinguished as Jafis. Which is the Pachomian site? Lefort [Museon, LII, 393ff.] did not know of two. The words in square brackets are mine.'

allotted to those nearer home; if then the owner of the tomb were buried near his own native town, this text would argue in favour of the identification of Hfōet with the modern El-Mucallah, as conjectured by Daressy long ago (Rec. trav. X, 140). But El-Mucallah is about 9 km. downstream from Asfün, and this is more than one would expect with places so intimately connected as Ha-Snofru (Hasfün) and Hfōet. For that connexion see above all the statue A 17 of the Louvre (Gauthier, Livre des rois, II, 34, X) naming Debekhotpe IV as beloved of  'Hemen in Ha-Snofru of Hfōet'. This same god Hemen, who is well discussed by Vikentiev, op. cit. 67 ff., is the god of Hfō in Leyden V 1 (see the Table), on the great stela of Taracos from Matānah published by Vikentiev (note the provenance, not from El-Mucallah), and on a papyrus fragment (Dyn. XXI) in my possession which mentions a prophet of  'Hemen of Pi-hfō' (with prefixed  as in On. Am.); on the other hand, the statue Cairo 42221, quoted already in connexion with Agny (No. 324), gives its owner the title of prophet of  'Hemen of Ha-Snofru'. Vikentiev has noted that in Pyr. 1013  Hemen is associated with Sokar and Horus  , but in the closely related context 1412 M. replaces him by Min and N. by   This replacement of a rare god by another whose name is similar in writing is doubtless exemplified again in the   'Amun, lord of Hfō' Chass, Edfou, VI, 232, next after which (the place-names here are clearly intended to be in order from south to north) is named   'Amun, lord (nb) of Hasfün'. In Pyr. 1013 the name of Hemen is determined with the falcon , as also in Pyr. 235, and this doubtless explains the fact that in Leyden V 1, the text of which was composed from the sculptor's point of view, the god of Ha-Snofru is said to be Haroëris. Even more significant is the fact that the Esna calendar (Brugsch, Mémoires, Pl. 10, l. 5) speaks of

 'Horus of the East of Hfō.' In lists XIII and XIV (see the Table) the district of Horus of the East has as counterpart a district of Horus of the West, in which is Hasfün (Ha-Snofru); this seems to make it probable that the two districts of Horus were nearly or quite opposite one another and that Hfō was on the east bank. The place called  'He-sut-Re,' likewise in the district of Horus of the East, is in List XIII mentioned before, i.e. S. of Hasfün, and in Chass, Edfou, 232 its synonym  (as already stated) is associated with Agny. To sum up: Hfō has been shown to be intimately connected with Ha-Snofru (Hasfün); both had the same god Hemen, later variant Amun, sometimes figured as a falcon-god; and whereas Hasfün was in the district of Horus of the West, Hfō was in an obviously corresponding district of Horus of the East. Most lists name Hfō after Hasfün, i.e. presumably north of it, but there is one exception; and the district of Horus of the East contained another place which there is reason to think was upstream from Hasfün; this evidence makes it highly improbable that Hfō was as far north as El-Mucallah.

327-9 

 'ntywy' 'The House of Hathor, lady of ...' ... Cantaye, mostly known simply as  Pr-Hthr 'Pi-Hathor,' so On. Ram. 198; Rekhmire; Mrk. IV, 125 (Paheri); often in demotic and Greek papyri from Gebelén, see Griffith, Rylands Papyri, III, 130, Gk. Παθύπις (Preisigke, III, 317 f.); also doubtless the Ἀφροδίτης πόλις mentioned by Strabo, XVII, 1, 47 as between Κροκόδειλων πόλις (below, No. 331) and Λατόπολις (above, No. 323; hardly, as Ball, 112 supposed, the Παθύπις or Ταθύπις of Ptolemy, since this is placed N. of Hermontis; Gauthier, II, 117 quotes Πλαθύρ and Πλαθύρις as Coptic forms, but it is obscure on what authority; name of

Textual Notes. 327-9 <sup>a</sup> The traces forbid any such restoration as . <sup>b</sup>  has been omitted in the transcription in Pl. 10A, as again in 5, 4 of Pl. 11A.

the X<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian nome, reproduced in Greek as Αὐτάῖος; the characteristic sign of the group, in Late Egyptian clearly interpreted as containing the finger ⌂ and later construed as containing the god-sign ⌂, originally represented a pair of falcon-gods , sometimes shown, though Sethe was not aware of it when he wrote Urgeschichte, §51, sailing in a boat; the horizontal stroke seen in the hieratic and demotic writings seems to be the last relic of the boat ⌂, and not the standard ⌂ which in hieroglyphic later replaced it. Corresponding to this biune god was another worshipped in the XII<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian nome, whose image was that of a single falcon , likewise shown as in a boat , the hieratic writing being later similarly misinterpreted as containing the finger ⌂, cf. too the late ⌂. Quite recently the Wilbour papyrus, as will be proved in my Commentary, has brought to light the same, or at least a similarly written, single god in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian nome (that of ) together with a town, in hieratic rendered as  ⌂, named after him, see too below, No. 384B; Sethe, analysing the data with care — his views are further elaborated in Urgeschichte, especially §53 — arrived at the conclusions (1) that the single god was named Anty i.e. cnty 'He of the claw', (2) that the double god cntwry 'The Two with the claws' was identified with the giant Antaeus by the Greeks solely on account of the sound, and (3) that the group in the epithet of the goddess Hathor of Gebelen recalled the same double god, rendered in Greek by \*εὐταῖος or the like (ZÄS XLVII, 56); (4) above all, he protested that philological reasons forbade this \*εὐταῖος to be taken as an equivalent of the dual  ⌂ cnty 'the (town of the) Two Rocks'. No doubt Sethe's reasoning is sound, and we may even accept his reading of  as cnty 'the Claw-god', as I did, though perhaps not without

some qualms, in my edition of P. Ch. Beatty I, see p. 17, n. 5. But a difficulty not faced by Sethe is to explain what the dual claw-god is doing at Gebelén. Though firmly believing, with him, that \**er-taɪ(p)is* could not be a proper dual of *Inry*, I am nevertheless inclined to conjecture that it was this last word which suggested, as a sort of popular etymology, the writing ; apart from this writing itself, there is not a scrap of evidence that the god of the Xth nome was worshipped in the neighbourhood of Gebelén. To return to the five words of On. Am. 327-9, the word in lacuna remains a puzzle. As regards 'Anubis, lord of the Dawning Land' mentioned on the Leyden stela V1 (see the Table), Kees has produced clear evidence (*ZÄS LXXI*, 150ff.) of his worship in the region of Gebelén, where indeed the god sometimes bore the epithet (e.g. Cotteville-Giraudet, *Médamoud: Mon. du moyen empire*, pl. 1), which, even if it may mean 'lord of the two egg-shells', doubtless refers to and possibly even reads *Inry* 'the Two Rocks'; additional instance, Hayes, *Burial-Chamber of the Treasurer Isk-maë*, pl. 6. G, *Smn* 'Smen', earlier writings and the like, *dw-mnw* 'dw-menu', certainly at Gebelén, though the exact position is not clear, see above all the elaborate study by Huentz, *Bull. inst. fr.* XXVIII, 123ff.; as pointed out *JEA XXVII*, 36, n. 3, Huentz's statement of the location (*op. cit.* 153) is obscure, since he appears to locate the place both at Gebelén and at the village of Er-Rizeikât (Crum, *Epiphanius*, I, 122 compares this place-name to Copt. <sup>s</sup>Τρώωτ, gk. Τερρυθής), also on the left bank, but 14 km. (my note unfortunately said 14 miles) further north. It is true that the crocodile-god Suchus of Smen, so often mentioned, is named on stelae supposed, rightly or wrongly, to have been found at Er-Rizeikât (for these see Porter & Moss, V, 161f. and Hayes, *op. cit.*, notes on p. 29), but at

least two of these (Cairo 20481, 20642) mention also or alone the town of I-m-iotru (below, No. 331), and there are good reasons for placing this latter at or very close to Gebelén. Since On. Am. seems trustworthy in the order of its towns, this evidence should be accepted as decisive; also the Turin papyrus edited by me *op. cit.* appears to favour Gebelén, corn being received from the prophet of Hathor, almost certainly at Pathyris, on the 10th day of the month, then on the 11th in the town of Smen, and then without date in the town of I-m-iotru. 331

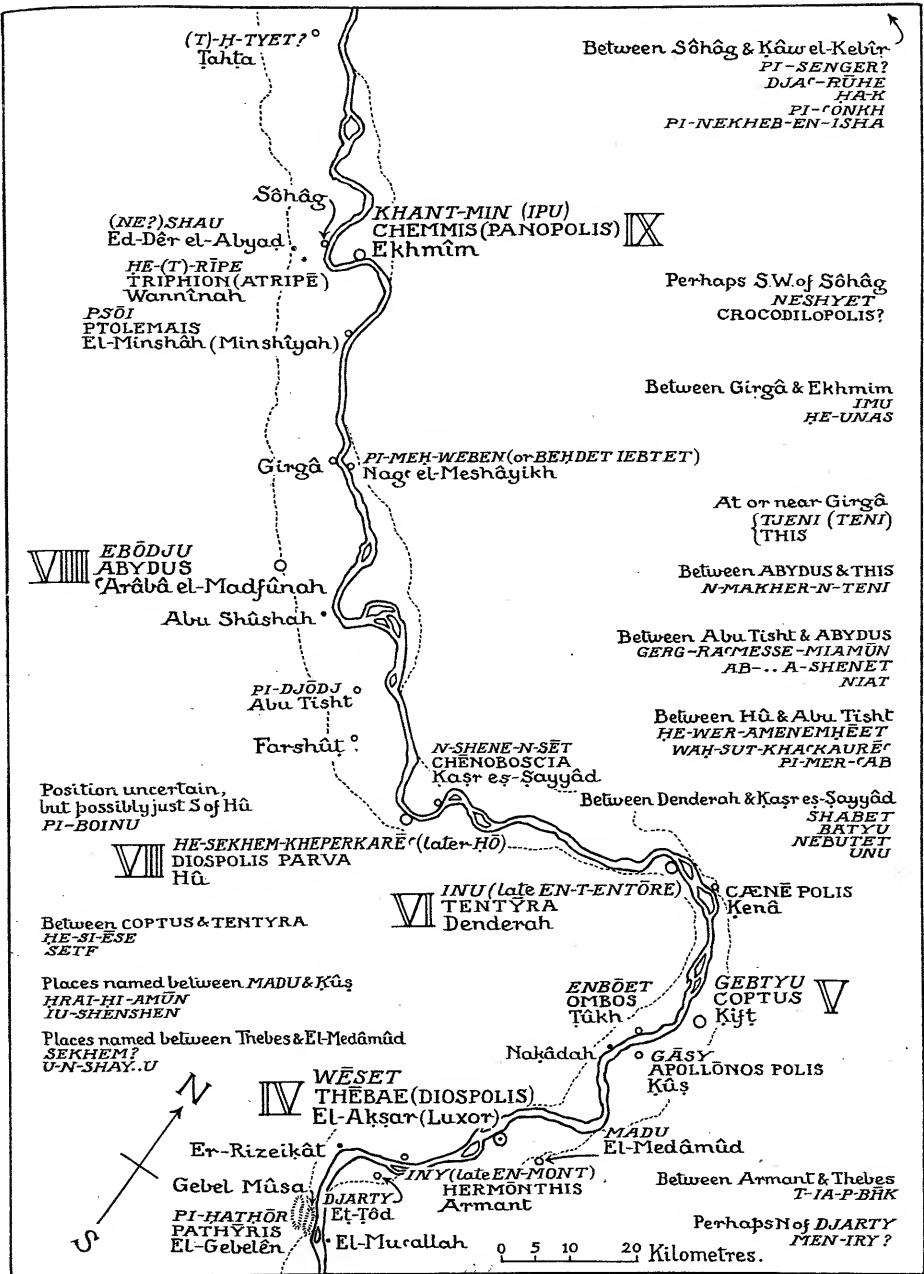
G, *I-mi|tr
|  |* 'I-m-iotru', older writings 'Iw-m-iotru', demotic writing suggests pronunciation Amūr, gk. Κροκόδειλων πόλις, an island near Gebelén, Gauthier, I, 42 f., 214 f., with the cult of Suchus, Cotteville-Giraudet, *Médamoud: Mon. du moyen empire*, pl. 1; *JEA XXVII*, 24 and often later, but also Chons, Cairo stela 20481. For the Late Egyptian writing see *JEA XXVII*, 36, n. 4. That this town, and not *Smn* (No. 330), where Suchus was likewise worshipped, was the Κροκόδειλων πόλις of the Greeks (between Ἐπιμώνθις and Ἀφροδίτης πόλις Strabo, XVII, 1, 47) is formally proved by the correspondence in the demotic P. Rylands XVII of the words 'Esprnuti, son of Zeho, writing in the name of the priests of Suchus, lord of Amūr' with the Greek equivalent Εσπρνουθίς Αιγυπτίος μυογράφος Κροκόδειλων πόλεως, see ed. Griffith, III, 144, n. 10. The literal translation of the Egyptian name 'Island-in-river' shows that the town must once have lain upon an island, cf. ἡ Ερέβη νῆσος τοῦ Σούχου P. Giza 10371, 34f. quoted by Kees in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Krokodeilon (3); in *JEA XXVII*, 36 I wrongly imputed to Kees and accepted myself the view that Strabo's Crocodilopolis was *Smn*, above, No. 330. 331A *Djerty* 'Djarty', strangely absent

from On. Ram. and On. Am., but present in the Abydus and Luxor lists, as well as Leyden V1, earlier writing  $\Delta\Delta$  14<sup>o</sup>, Copt. <sup>5</sup>TOOY<sup>T</sup>, TAOY<sup>T</sup>, TAY<sup>T</sup> (Crum, *Ephiphanius*, II, p. 196, No. 163, n. 7), the modern الطور El-Jôd, a town of considerable importance on the right bank, almost opposite Armant, but somewhat to the south, 4 km. from the river. See Gauthier, VI, 130 f.; Porter & Moss, V, 167 ff.; F. Bisson de la Roque, *Jôd (1934 à 1936)*, Cairo, 1937, with account of excavations in the temple and introduction mentioning the cults of the falcon-headed  $\Delta\Delta$  Mntrw 'Mont' and the goddess  $\Delta\Delta$  Jnn<sup>t</sup> 'Ijenenet', also called  $\Delta\Delta$  Rct-tswy 'The female Rê of the Two Lands', as (e.g.) in the Karnak goddesses' list. Mont was strictly the god of the entire Theban nome ( $\Delta\Delta$  nb Wst 'lord of Thebes') and his cult occurs not only here, but also at Armant, Karnak and Medamûd, see below; much material is collected by Legrain, *Bull. inst. fr.* XII, 101 ff. and by Bisson de la Roque, *ibid.* XL, 1 ff.

331B

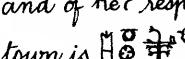
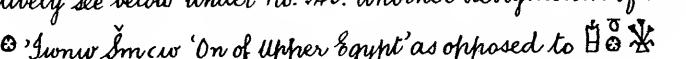
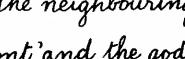
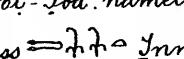
$\Delta\Delta$  Mntr<sup>(?)</sup>y (or -t<sup>(?)</sup>y), On. Ram. 149, otherwise unknown; somewhere between Gebelén and Armant.

332-3  $\Delta\Delta$  14<sup>o</sup> G, 'Jwn Mnt (?)' 'Hermontis'; earliest writings  $\Delta\Delta$  4<sup>o</sup> Cairo 20001;  $\Delta\Delta$  4<sup>o</sup> 'Jwni, Jwony' (Gauthier, I, 53); lk. Epywvθis (Strabo, Ptolemy, etc.), Copt. <sup>5</sup>PMONT, <sup>8</sup>PMONT, Arab. منت, left bank, near the river, 13.5 km. S. of Luxor; the name occurs on many monuments from the site, Porter & Moss, V, 151 ff., and particularly from the ruins of the temples excavated by Mond and Myers (*Temples of Armant*, 1940). In *Recueil Champollion*, 724 ff. Lacau showed that the Greek name was derived from the late  $\Delta\Delta$  14<sup>o</sup> 'Jwn-Mnt' 'On of Mont', not from  $\Delta\Delta$  Pr. Mntrw 'House of Mont' as previously supposed; for 'Jwn-Mnt' see too Gauthier, I, 54; here the barbaric writing of G is evidently an attempt to render the contemporary pronunciation of the place-name, of



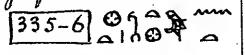
## SKETCH-MAP OF UPPER EGYPT

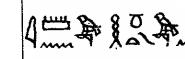
From El-Gebelén to Tahita.

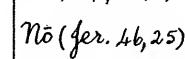
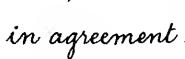
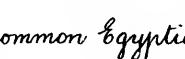
which this would be much the earliest instance. For the differentiation of Hermontis, Denderah and Heliopolis as the On of Mont, of 'the goddess' and of her respectively see below under No. 343. Another designation of the town is  'Iunu Smcw' 'On of Upper Egypt' as opposed to  'Iunu Mhw' 'On of Lower Egypt', i.e. Heliopolis, see Sethe in ZAS XLIV, 17; Gauthier, I, 55.56; 'Iunu Smcw' is seen in two of our lists. Two deities of the town are the same as at the neighbouring St.-Iqd. namely the falcon-headed  Mntw 'Mont' and the goddess  Innt 'Ienenet', sometimes called  Rct-tswy 'the female Re of the Two Lands'; but to these Hermontis adds  'Iunyt' 'She of On'; for references to the three deities see Mond & Myers, op. cit., Text, pp. 158-9; Bisson de la Roque, Bull. inst. fr. XL, 1 ff.



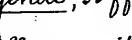
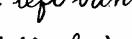
 R, I3-ist-p3-bk 'I-iat-p-bkh' literally 'The Mound of the Falcon'; Gauthier, I, 37 wrongly separates the elements of this otherwise unknown compound place-name; for the Late Egyptian spelling of the old ist 'mound' see my Wilbour Papyrus, Text, ch. 1, §4.

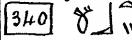
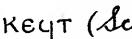


 Wes, the city of Amun, mistress of every town', gk. Ωἴβας, Διὸς πόλις, the great capital of Thebes, of which the main residential quarter was situated on the right bank, between the modern القصر 'El-Aksar (Luxor, Maspero & Wiet, I, 23) and (El-)Karnak. See the elaborate article by Kees in Pavly-Wissowa, s. v. Shebäi (Ägypten); for the existing remains reference need be made only generally to Baedeker, Porter & Moss and the profusely illustrated popular work by Capart & Werbrouck. On. Am. gives the name in characteristic late Egyptian fashion with divided apposition; for other examples of Niwt Imn or Niwt nt Imn 'the City of Amun' see Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter, p. 7, n. 2, and this is

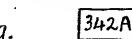
well-known also in the נָמֹן נָמֹן of Nahum 3,8, of which the Greek Διὸς πόλις is an exact translation; Copt. NH, Crum, Epiphanius, II, p. 192, No. 151, n. 3. The Old Testament also uses the abbreviation נָמֹן (Jer. 46, 25) in agreement with the very common Egyptian custom (Wb. II, 211, 1); but the vocalization Nō should have been Nē, cf. Assyr. Nisi (Ranke, Keilschr. Mat. 31), the Coptic form above, and add to the authorities quoted in Brown, Driver & Briggs, Hebrew Lexicon, s. v., the notes by Griffith, Rylants Papyri, III, 228, 5; 423, s. v. The name  W3st is properly that of the nome, Sethe, op. cit. p. 8, see n. 2 on that page for the reading; the pronunciation is suggested by the royal name Xapoïs (Hc-m-w3st) in the Book of Sothis, Waddell, Manetho, p. 236. Most scholars are agreed that the Greek name Ωἴβας, which goes back to Homer, Il. 9, 381, must be due to comparison of the name of the great Boeotian town with some similarly sounding designation of the Egyptian city, and if so  J-apē 'the Harim' seems the least unlikely origin. Actually the name is never thus found with prefixed feminine article, but in Homeric times it may have been so used; without article  Ipt is common as the abbreviation of  'Spt-rst' 'the southern Harim', the name of Luxor, see Sethe in ZAS XLIV, 5; but this abbreviation occurs early only in personal names like  'Imn-m-Ipt' and the month-name  Φωφή, Copt. Πάνη, Poone, which refers to the feast celebrated at Luxor in that month, see Wolf, Dasschöne Fest von Opet, 71; for the Greek Οφίον see Kees, op. cit., cols. 1557-8; in late times the name changed gender, if Π- in Πάνη is the article, not old Ipr, and this was used as the name of Luxor by the Copts, Maspero & Wiet, I, 23; for the question of Πάνη without article see Crum, Epiphanius, I, pp. 105f. The old proposal to connect the name Ωἴβας with  I3mt, Copt. ΣΗΜΕ, though

Porter & Moss, V, 137ff. Crum, Epiphanius, II, p. 226, No. 248, n. 7 conjectured that Copt. <sup>5</sup> ΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΤ represented this town, but he gave no serious reasons. The very fruitful excavations by J. Bisson de la Roque and his colleagues have brought to light the temple of the principal falcon-headed deity, whose full title is 'Mont, lord of Wese (Thebes), Bull in the midst of Madu'. J. Bisson de la Roque, Rapport..... Médamoud (1928), p. 92. [338] G, Mr.(i)-hr-Imn 'Hrai-hi-amun', older writing G, Mr. IV, 916, 8, with note c. Gauthier, IV, 34f., where, however, the example P. Berlin 3047, 14 (= ZÄS XVII, 72) is probably not relevant; from the meaning of the name 'My face is upon Amun' the town or village is presumed to have lain on the left bank, looking towards Karnak; the deity was Amun, Mrk. IV, 916, 8, with note c. Davies (Tomb of Piyejemre, II, 83f.) argued that this site, the name of which also serves as the name of a temple (Mrk. IV, 71; Davies, op. cit. I, Pl. 40), was at Dér el-Bahri, but his reasons are not convincing, especially in view of the fact that On. Am. names the place after Medamud; also when it is recorded (ZÄS XLIV, 31) that Nebwenenef served as 'overseer of prophets' from Hrai-hi-amun to This, the implication seems to be that his jurisdiction stopped short at the Theban area. [338A] Iw-šenšen, On. Ram. 203. A Dyn. XI stela published SEA VIII, 191f., relates how a certain Khenomsu was sent to this town, written Iw-šenšen, found it destroyed, and founded it anew. Otherwise unknown. [339] G, Gy 'Gasy', old writing Gy, Pyr. 308 (cf. also 312), Copt. <sup>5</sup> κωκ (e.g. Crum, Coptic Ostr. p. 43, No. 386), <sup>8</sup> κοκ βαρβιρ (Munier, Recueil, 51), better writing κωκ βερβιρ, Arab. قوش Kis, right bank, Gauthier, V, 178, 220; Gk. Ἀνόλλυπος πόλις (Strabo, Ptolemy, etc.), Latin Diocletianopolis, Maspero & Wiet, I, 155f.; for the now almost destroyed temple see Porter & Moss, V, 135. The principal deity is Haroëris, Brugoch, DG 864ff., early alluded to mainly by the

epithet  *Pyr.* 513; *ZÄS* XLIV, 18; Kees, *Horus u. Seth*, II, 9; for much evidence from Graeco-Roman texts see Junker, *Onurislegende*, 33 ff., where references are given for a further name  *Nn-wr*; it was this god who, together with Seth of Ombos almost opposite on the left bank, gave rise to the banner of the Coptite nome  'nome of the Two Falcon-deities', Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 44. The goddess Hekayet, mentioned in the Karnak goddesses' list and Leyden V 1, was his mother (Junker, loc. cit.); the earliest writings suggest 'Chieftainess' as the meaning, and probably she was not originally a frog-goddess like Heket of *H-wör* (*Ar.-wr*) below, No. 349 (*contra* Sethe, op. cit., § 123). 339 A Nakâdah, Arab. ; modern town on the left bank; perhaps the site was early reckoned as part of  *Nbt* 'Ombos', see below, No. 341.

340  G, *Coptus*, *gk. Kóptos* (Strabo, Ptolemy, etc.), Copt. <sup>5</sup>KHBT (commonest form according to Crum, *Epiphanius*, II, p. 327, n. 11), KBT, <sup>6</sup>KEYT (Scalae, see *Bull. Soc. arch. copte*, V, 232), Arab.  *kift*, on the right bank, a little inland; very often mentioned, Gauthier, V, 173; remains of the temples and other monuments, Porter & Moss, V, 123 ff. The ithyphallic Min was the principal god, but beside him is often mentioned Isis as his mother, especially when he is fused with Horus as Min-Hor or Hor-Min, as also at Ekhmîm, see Gauthier, *Personnel*, 14 (wrongly treated as separate gods in my Table, Pl. 25); for Coptus see Cairo 589 = Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, p. 144; Harris, 61, a, 8; P. Wilbour, A, § 157; cf. too Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, §§ 47-8. In On. Am. Coptus is wrongly placed before Ombos, which is about 5 km. upstream on the other side of the river. For *ntr-smc*, a designation of Coptus in the last column of the Table, see Gauthier, III, 109. 341  G, *Nbt* 'Ombos', on the desert-edge some 2.5 km. N.W. of  *Yukh*, left bank near the desert,

Gauthier, III, 84. For the normal writing  without *nb* see on No. 316, but Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 86 quotes some rare M. K. exceptions. This is the classical Ombos which is coupled with Tentyra (Denderah) by Juvenal and Aelian, see Hoffner, *Fontes*, [III], 283. 4-9. The god was Seth, and the remains of his temple, often mentioning the place-name, render certain the identification of the site, see Porter & Moss, V, 117 f. Hence also the name *Tà Tuφώνια*, Strabo, XVII, 1, 44. On the importance of this place in predynastic times see Sethe, op. cit. §§ 86 ff., and the prominence of Seth later as the representative god of Upper Egypt is probably to be connected with the existence of the vast early cemeteries at Nakâdah, some 7 km. further south. In the Abydos-list of nomes Mar., *Abydos*, II, 12, the town *Nbt* 'Ombos' is interposed between the nome of Thebes (IV) and the Coptite (V) as if, in the reign of Ramesses II, this may have been a separate administrative province. For the faulty position in On. Am. see on No. 340. The omission from On. Ram. is remarkable. 341 A 341 *Hot-sz-sz* 'He-si-*Es*', Abydos list only; exact locality unknown; Gauthier, IV, 123 f. mentions some earlier groundless conjectures, but not the conjecture which alone has any plausibility: in *ZÄS* XXI, 95 Erman identified the place with one mentioned in the great Old Coptic magical papyrus in Paris; the sentence runs (*PGM* I, 66) εγώτη  
ΔΝΟΥΠ· πρεμπτοσ ΝΞΑΝΕΙΗΣΕ (?)emend ΝΞΑΝCIΗΣΕ) ΤΒΑΪΤWY 'Praise be to Anubis, the dweller in the nome of Hansiese, who is upon his mountain'; the identification, which would prove that Anubis was the local god, is satisfactory on condition that in ΤΒΑΪΤWY =  no allusion is made to the XIIth Upper Egyptian nome, a good 150 km. away. 342  *Setf*, unknown locality; the reading is confirmed by the words *Wb.* IV, 342, 5. b. 9.

342 A Kenâ, Arab.  *Kaivn* πόλις, an important modern town on the right bank, Maspero & Wiel, I, 153; the name goes back no further than Ptolemy, unless by any chance the Νέη πόλις of Herodotus

were identical, as Parthey suggested; but Kees, s.v. *Kainopolis* in Pauly-Wissowa, opposes this view, probably rightly; so too Ball, p. 18, n. f. No ruins are reported as at *Kenâ*, and the antiquities thence mentioned Porter & Moss, V, 122 do not seem to have been found on the spot. The name itself points to the late foundation of the town. [343]

*Ḡw-n-t̄-ntr̄* 'Denderah', at the edge of the western desert 1 km. downstream from *Kenâ* and 2 km. upstream from the modern village of *Denderah*, which preserves the Greek name *Tērūpā* first found in Strabo (XVII, 1, 44). This is derived from *t̄-ntr̄* '(of) the goddess', an epithet in late times added to *Iunw*, itself a corruption of the older *Iunt*, to distinguish it from the *Iunw* of Mont, i.e. Armant, above, Nos. 332-3, where, however, *Iunw*, properly the Biblical On, i.e. Heliopolis, is a perversion of the ancient form *Iuny*; so too On. Am. uses the rare *Iunw R̄* 'On of Re' for Heliopolis itself (below, No. 100). In Copt. <sup>s</sup>NITNTWPE (Crum, *Epiphanius*, II, p. 280, No. 500), <sup>b</sup>NITEN-TWPI (Amélineau, 140f.; some MSS strangely NIK-) is evidently preserved the last trace of the original *Iunt*; apart from On. Am. all examples of the expanded name are of Graeco-Roman date, see Gauthier, I, 57, our List XII and P. Brit. Mus. 1056q, q, q. The old form occurs already *Pyr.* 1066, cf. too the sistrum with 'Hathor, lady of Junet' from the reign of Seti, *JEA* VI, 69. For the temples, all late except the shrine of a king Menthotpe, see Porter & Moss, VI, 41ff.; other antiquities, op. cit. V, 109 ff. In Graeco-Roman times at all events, the child-gods *Ihy* and *Harsomtus* were associated with *Hathor* in the cult. Further literature: Kees s.v. *Ientyra* in Pauly-Wissowa, where the crocodile-sign seen in the nome-sign (see Col. XV in the Table) is discussed. [343A] *Shabtu*, On. Ram. 207,

location unknown, Gauthier, V, 101; from Couyat & Montet, *Hammāmat*, 114, 11 no more can be learned than that troops were collected in the nomes of Upper Egypt from I-m-iotru (*Igebelen*) in the south to *Shabtu* in the north; a statue of Sakhmis (*ZÄS* LVIII, 44) speaks of her as 'beloved of Iuchus, lord of Shabtu'. [343B] *Batyu* 'Batu', On. Ram. 208, unknown elsewhere.

[343C] *Nebutet* 'Nebutet', Abydus list only; Gauthier, III, 84 suggests an identification with a place called *Nbywry* (op. cit. III, 83), but without any further ground than the similarity of the component consonants. [343D] *Unu* 'Unu', Medinet Habu list only, as home of Seth, immediately before No. 344; recorded by Brugsch, DG 277, but overlooked by Gauthier, I, 196 ff.; one of four cult-places of Seth mentioned Rochem, *Edfou*, I, 174 (); Chass., *Edfou*, II, 52 ()<sup>2</sup>, the others being the Oasis (), *N-shene* (below, No. 344) and *Spermeru* (No. 388); clearly different from the *Unu* at or near *El-Ashmūnién* (No. 377A) and from that near Buto in the Delta commented upon below under No. 416.

[344] *N-š-ny-n-sht̄* 'N-shene-n-Seth', lit. 'The trees of Seth', gk. Χρυσοβούνια (Ptolemy and later writers, see Ball, Index), Copt. <sup>s</sup>WENECHT, on the right bank at or very near *Kaṣr es-Sayyād* (No. 344A), Gauthier, III, 69 f. The identification with the Greek town is revealed by the Coptic life of St. Pachomius, in which *Sheneset* is named as the village in the nome of *Diospolis* (= *Hū*, below, No. 346) where the saint became a Christian; the Greek and Arabic translations give as equivalent *Xρυσοβούνια*. The distances in Ptolemy, etc. bring *Xρυσοβούνια* reasonably close to *Kaṣr es-Sayyād*, with which it was identified by Champollion and Quatremère, see Amélineau, 430 ff.; Gauthier, Bull. inst. fr., X, 99 f. The identification is confirmed by Lefort in his interesting article *Muséon*, LII, 379 ff., where he describes a walk from the modern village in which he came,

at a distance of about 1 km., to the monastery of S. Palamon (Der Amba Palamoun, otherwise known as Der Abu Sefēn), where the two saints lived together; the Coptic life adds, among other details, that there was a small temple of Serapis in the village and near the river. Stephen of Byzantium quotes Alexander Polyhistor for the fact that there are no pastures for geese at Χηνοβοσκία, such being the meaning of the name, but that there was a great interest in crocodiles; the origin is quite obscure, unless indeed the beginning of the Greek name contains a memory of Shene- in Sheneset. Apart from the mentions in On. Am. and the Medinet Habu list ('Seth of the trees') the only references in Egyptian texts are in the two short series of cult-places of Seth noted above under No. 343 D from the temple of Edfu; here we find ⲈⲥⲦⲦⲦ and ⲈⲦⲦⲦⲦ respectively, i.e. as at Medinet Habu.

**344 A** قصر الصياد Kasr es-Sayyād, right bank, with many Old Kingdom tombs, see Porter & Moss, V, 119 ff., to which now add Kēmi, VI, 81 ff. The Arabic form given above, meaning 'Castle of the Hunter', is that of the Descr. de l'Ég., and is certainly preferable to القصر والصياد El-Kasr we-s-Sayyād given by others, see Gauthier, Bull. inst. fr. X, 100. For the identity with WENECHT see on No. 344.

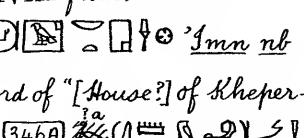
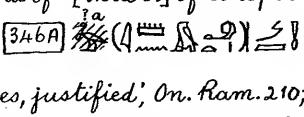
**345** ⲈⲦⲦⲦⲦ G, Pr.-b(i)nw

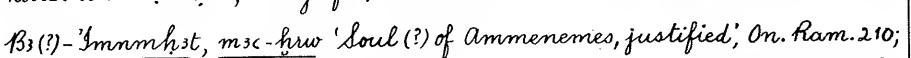
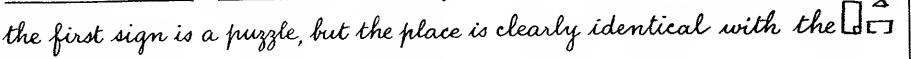
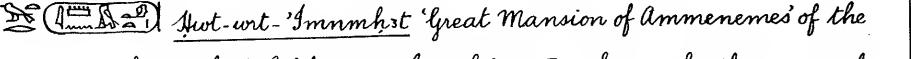
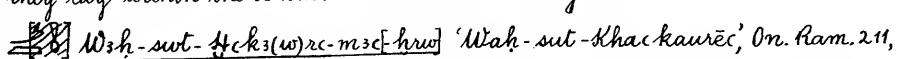
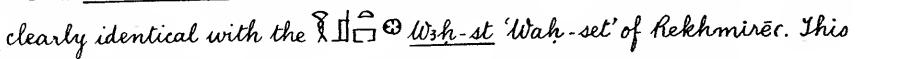
'Pi-boinu', is placed by On. Am. before He-sekhem (Hū) against the Abdu and Medinet Habu lists, as well as against that of the Wādy el-Arish, this last of little value. Preference might seem to require to be given to the majority, but there is a distinct possibility that the actual site may be near the late tomb at the edge of the western desert 'about a mile south of the temple enclosure' at Hū (Porter & Moss, V, 107 f.), where there is a well-known picture of the Phoenix (b(i)nw). Gauthier, II, 77 recalls Brugsch's probable guess (DG 191 f.) that the town is identical with the  Hut-b(i)nw 'Mansion of the Phoenix' mentioned at Denderah (Chass, Dend.

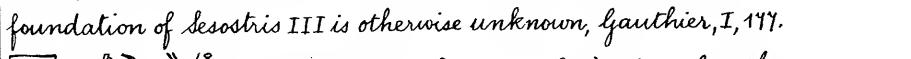
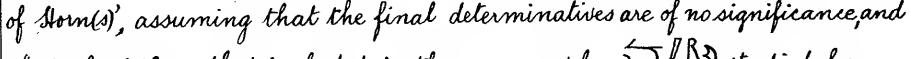
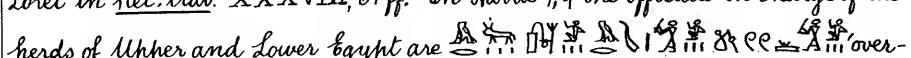
I, 93; II, 133) as in the Sistrum or Diopolite nome (VII), but his further comparison with Copt. TABENHCE is to be rejected, as will be seen from Crum's note above, p. 15\*, n. 1.

**346** ⲈⲦⲦⲦⲦ G, Hut-shm 'He-sekhem', lk. Διός

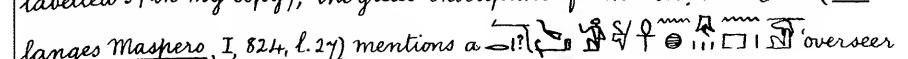
πόλις ἡ μικρά, Copt. ⲈⲦⲦ, Arab. ⲈⲦⲦ Hū, left bank, Gauthier, IV, 45. 129 f. 226. The sole surviving sculptures from the Ptolemaic temple (Petrie, Diopolis Parva, Pl. 43) allude to the town, as well as to the god Neferhōtep attributed to it in List XV of Pl. 25; in these sculptures Isis is his 'god's wife' and Nephthys his 'god's sister'. Neferhōtep is also mentioned in connexion with the town Brugsch, Thes. 619. 623 (Denderah); Mar., Dend. IV, 40, 7 (here snake-headed and explicitly equated with Osiris); de Morgan, Koni Ombo, No. 887, b. However, as the name of the town 'Mansion of the Sistrum' would lead one to expect, the goddess Hathor was here of far greater importance, see besides the passages named in the Table (e.g.) the Dakhlah stela SEA XIX, 24. Among the other monuments from the site enumerated Gauthier, V, 107 ff. there is the stela of an overseer of prophets of Hathor and Neferhōtep, Proc. SBA VII, 186. In place of Hathor Nephthys is named Chass, Mammisi, 11, No. 8; Id., Edfou, VI, 229; Brugsch, Thes. 621 (Denderah); Lanzone, Pap. Lac Moeris, Pl. 6, No. 26; for Isis see above. The abbreviated place-name Hut has survived as Hū through the ages and is found already in the great Edfu nome-list (XII in the Table) and in a late liturgical papyrus, this once again mentioning Neferhōtep as well as Nephthys and Isis, Rec. trav. XXXV, 36. The equivalence with Διός πόλις ἡ μικρά (Strabo and later, Ball, Index; Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Diopolis) is explicitly given in the Coptic scalaë (Bull. soc. arch. copte, V, 243) and the list of bishoprics Munier, Recueil, 51, here ⲈⲦⲦ in contrast with the Diopolis κάτω below, No. 413; the name Diopolis is somewhat puzzling, since no cult of Amen-Rē is known from the site, unless it be on the Stockholm statue

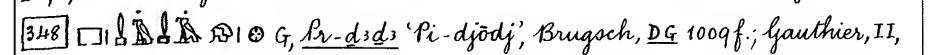
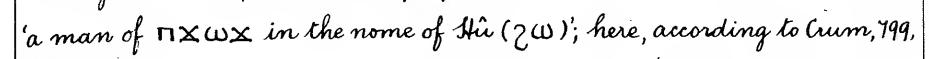
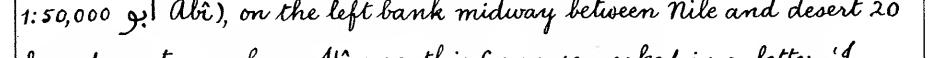
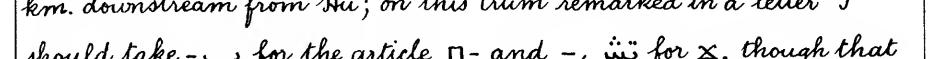
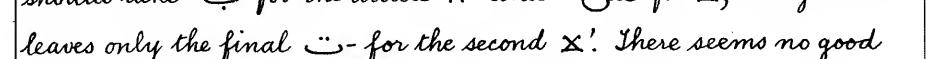
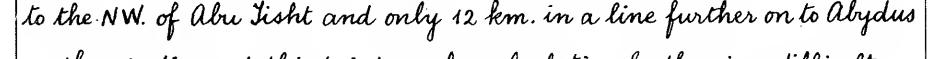
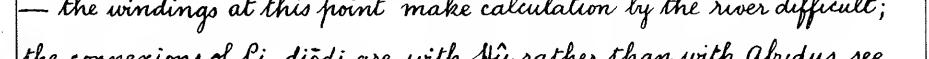
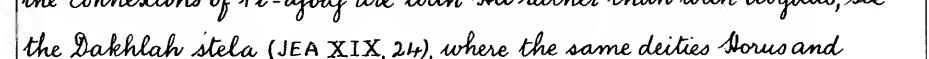
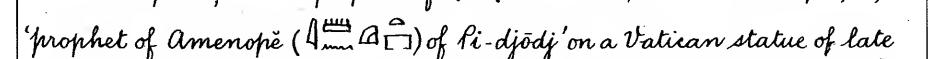
to be cited below; however, Mar., Abydos, I, 45 names the other ram-god Arsaphe as a god of the place. The connexion of the town with Sesostris I in On. Ram. receives some confirmation from a statue of Dyn. XVIII from Stockholm (No. 71) where my own copy reads  'Amun nb [hr?] Hpr-k3-r, Hthr nbt Hwt-shm 'Amun, lord of [House?] of Kheperkare and Hathor, lady of Sekhem'. 346A 

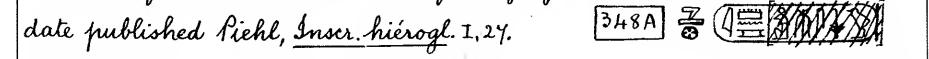
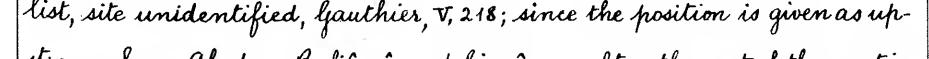
 'Amnenes, justified'; On. Ram. 210; the first sign is a puzzle, but the place is clearly identical with the   'Great Mansion of Ammenemes' of the scene in the tomb of Rekhmirer, Gauthier, IV, 59 has no further examples. As regards the sites of this and the next town the only thing certain is that they lay within the 50 km. between Hû and Abydus. 346B  'Wah-sut-Kha-kaure', On. Ram. 211, clearly identical with the  'Wah-set' of Rekhmirer. This foundation of Sesostris III is otherwise unknown, Gauthier, I, 117.

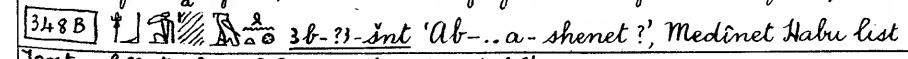
347  'Pi-mer-cab(?)', not in Gauthier, exact location unknown; the name probably signifies 'The House of the Overseer of Storm(s)', assuming that the final determinatives are of no significance and that the title is that included in the more complex  studied by Loret in Rec. trav. XXXVIII, 61 ff. In Harris 7, 9 the officials in charge of the herds of Upper and Lower Egypt are  overseers of cattle, scribes, overseers of horns and controllers; apart from the actual herdsmen; reference is also made to herds created for Osiris by Sethos I on the stela of a man who was also the mayor of the Castle of Racmesse, but whose main title was  'of the Mansion of Menmaatre Heart pleased in Abydus'; Mar., Abydos, II, Pl. 51 (the plate is wrongly

Textual Note. 346A <sup>a</sup> Perhaps to be read as , since it has now been recognized that  is to be read in On. Ram. No. 225. This would suit  in the symbol attached to this town.

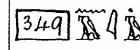
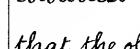
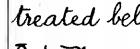
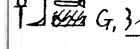
labelled 54 in my copy); the great inscription of Shoshenk I at Cairo (Mélanges Maspero, I, 824, l. 27) mentions a  'overseer of horns of goats of the House of Arsaphe'; the example Koller 3, 1 = Anast. IV, 3, 1 is wholly obscure; Wb. I, 173, 12 does not mention this writing.

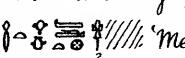
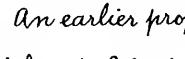
348  'Pi-djed', Brugsch, DG 1009f.; Gauthier, II, 140; known from a few monuments besides the three in the Table, and occurring once in Coptic in the life of Pachomius, where mention is made of 'a man of  in the nome of Hû (QW)'; here, according to Crum, 799, the Arabic version has  'Abu Tishat' clearly for Abu Tishat (Survey 1:50,000  Abu), on the left bank midway between Nile and desert 20 km. downstream from Hû; on this Crum remarked in a letter 'I should take - for the article  and - for , though that leaves only the final  for the second '. There seems no good reason for rejecting this equivalence, which is rather more suitable than that suggested by Daressy with  Abu Shushah, 8 km. to the NW. of Abu Tishat and only 12 km. in a line further on to Abydus — the windings at this point make calculation by the river difficult; the connexions of Pi-djed are with Hû rather than with Abydus, see the Dakhlah stela (JEA XIX, 24), where the same deities Horus and Sakhmis are named as in the Medinet Habu list; Horus occurs also in a Hibis inscription, and a prophet of Hathor in Louvre C 112 = Pierret, II, 33; a 'prophet of Amenopé' () of Pi-djed' on a Vatican statue of late date published Piehl, Inscr. hiérogly. I, 27.

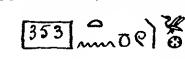
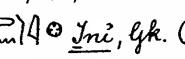
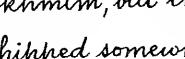
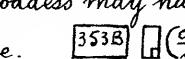
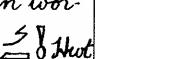
348A  'Gerg-Racmesse-miamun', only in the Abydus list, site unidentified, Gauthier, V, 218; since the position is given as upstream from Abydus, Balianâ and  are altogether out of the question.

348B  'Ab-shenet?', Medinet Habu list  
Textual Note. 348B <sup>a</sup> Apparently not part of .

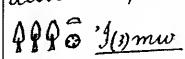
only, appended to the divine name  'Amūn'; consequently 36 is perhaps merely an epithet 'loving', 'desiring', and the unknown place-name may be contained in the next elements; not entered in Gauthier.

[349]  G, Nisut 'Niat'; Gauthier, III, 66 joins this entry to the name of Abydos following (No. 350) and renders it 'les localités d'Abydos'; in this he is certainly wrong, as it would leave Abydos represented only by a colourless paraphrase, and in view of No. 334 above it is highly unlikely that the old  ist 'mound' should at this period have been represented by  st. It seems not improbable that the place is the same as that found in the epithet of a god whose figure and name are lost, Féquier, Mon. fun. Pepi II, II, Pl. 33; there we read                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for town

Behdet, i.e. Nag<sup>r</sup> el-Meshāyikh, see the last entry; the proof is given by the stela Mar., Abydos, II, Pl. 58 there already quoted, which mentions besides other deities  'Meh-neb-weben the great dwelling in eastern (?) Behdet' and names a second prophet of hers; the goddess occurs also with almost the same titles Kochem, Edfou, I, 314, see Junker, Onuris-legende, 49 f. Moreover, the presence of Mh(y)t as component of the name suggests this neighbourhood, and wn points to the right bank; so too Daressey, cited by Gauthier, II, 88. An earlier prophet belonging to this place, written , is found P. Amiens, rt. 1, 7; 4, 4, see JEA XXVII, 48.

 G, In(i) 'This', old writing  Ini, gk.  (see below), Copt. <sup>s</sup>TIN (Crum quoted Rossi, Nuovo Codice, 3; Rec. trav. VI, 70, l. 8), Gauthier, VI, 76 f.; exact site unknown, but at all events not far from  Ijrgā, since its god Onuris (In-hrt) is so often a component in proper names from the neighbouring sites of Nag<sup>r</sup> ed-Dēr and Nag<sup>r</sup> el-Meshāyikh, see above under No. 351A and JEA XXVII, 48, n. 4. Maspero (Proc. SBA XIII, 507) believed that the modern Ijrgā had swallowed up the remains of the ancient town. Another eligible site is  El-Burbā further to the west, see Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes, II, 110. At this point it seems desirable to give a general caution with regard to cemeteries on the right bank. Here the hills generally come close to the Nile and offer good scope for rock tombs, whereas there is often little room for an important town, which may accordingly have lain in the cultivation across the river some distance to the west. This possibility must always be borne in mind. As regards the Greek name, the form  Is, preserved in Stephen of Byzantium and a papyrus, is clearly a back-formation from the Greek oblique cases and the adj.  Divītys; the genitive  Divōs is found in papyri, Freisigke, III, 300. Here, as at the neighbouring Nag<sup>r</sup> el-Meshāyikh (above, No. 351A) Onuris-Shu and Mehyt were

the chief deities, and as Junker (Onurislegende) and Sethe have shown, Mehyt was often identified with Iphénis; hence the attribution to This in the Table of 'Iphénis dwelling in the Ihinite city' in the Karnak goddesses' list, leaving the preceding Isis to represent Abydos.

 I(m)w 'Imu', only in the Karnak goddesses' list, site unknown, Gauthier, I, 70. 'Hathor, lady of Imu' usually signifies the goddess of Kôm el-Hîm, in the IIIrd nome of Lower Egypt, and it is therefore possible that  may not be a town or village between This and Ekhmîm, but that this Lower Egyptian goddess may have been worshipped somewhere near the former place.

Wnis (m3i-hru) 'He-Wnas (justified)', On. Ram. 214 only, site unknown, Gauthier, IV, 57.

El-Minshâh, now more frequently written and pronounced äminis Minshiyah, left bank beside the river, gk. Πτολεμαῖς ἡ Ἐρμείου, demotic P sy, Copt. <sup>s</sup>ΨWI, ψoi. The identification with Ptolemais is proved by a number of inscriptions from the spot, see Dittenberger, OGIS II, 436, Index s.v. Ptolemais Thebaidis. Maspero, quoted by Plaumann, Ptolemais in Oberägypten, 109, n. 5, speaks of having been 'frappé de la grandeur des tells, sur lesquels s'élève la ville moderne, et de la beauté des quais antiques d'appareil grec, qui, sur une longueur de six ou huit cents mètres courrent devant les premières maisons et servent encore de quais aux barques d'aujourd'hui'. Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes, II, 108 had likewise referred to the extensive mounds and the stone quarry, but doubted the identity with Ptolemais. The epigraphic evidence is, however, overwhelming, so much so, that testimony from the geographical writers is strictly superfluous. These latter indicate the equivalence in a somewhat round-about way: a single scala (Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 242) equates ψWI with El-Minshâh,

while the remainder name a village ألسابي Absay not to be found on the maps and stated by the Arabic geographer Calcaschandi to be unknown, Maspero & Wiet, I, 1f. This village occurs, however, between Ekhmîm and Shâ in the mediaeval lists of Kûrah (Χώρα), op.cit. 193ff, and the places in these lists correspond closely to the list of pagarchies enumerated by Hierocles (VI th cent.) and George of Cyprus, where Πτολεμαῖς likewise occurs between Πάρνηθος and Διοσπόλις. While these writers make Ptolemais capital of the Thebaid, just as Greek and demotic papyri of the last centuries BC speak of Πτολεμαῖς τῆς Ἐγύπτου = P-sy nt n ptō n Ne (Griffith, Rylands Papyri, III, 422), the geographer Ptolemy describes Ptolemais as metropolis of the Thinite nome, on the west bank and much nearer ( $27^{\circ} 10'$ ) to Panopolis ( $27^{\circ} 20'$ ) than to Abydos ( $26^{\circ} 50'$ ). Conversely, a Coptic text speaks of τὸν γῆν πτολεμαῖς οὐ ψεύδει 'This (above, No. 353) in the district of Psois', Rec. trav. VI, 40, 6.8. Of other geographers it is necessary to quote only Strabo (XVII, 1, 42), who speaks of Ptolemais as the largest town in the Thebaid, 'no smaller than Memphis' and 'with a government modelled on that of the Greeks'. There is no reason to think that a town of any considerable size stood on the site before Greek times; Porter & Moss, V, 36 quotes thence only a Ptolemaic stela and an obelisk of Amasis, and the latter mentions as deities only Osiris of Abydos and Socharis of the Fayjûm, so was probably an import. The demotic writing of P-sy throws no light on the etymology. [354] E G, Hnt-Mn' Ekh-mîm, lk. Χέρμις (Ahd. II, 91; Plut., De Iside, 14; Χέρμιος, Diod. I, 17, 2), also Πανώρ πόλις (Strabo XVII, 1, 41, Ptolemy) and Πανὸς πόλις elsewhere (both forms in papyri, Preisigke, III, 319), Copt. <sup>58</sup> ψΜΙΝ, also ψΜΙΝ, Arab. بِلْ مَنْشَهٌ Ekhmîm, right bank beside the river, Gauthier, IV, 197; Maspero & Wiet, I, 6f. Sethe in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Chemmis. The

Lower Egyptian place-name Chemmis has a quite different origin, see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Chembis; also my article in JEA XXX, 52 ff. The antiquities remaining or found in Ekhmîm, Porter & Moss, V, 17ff. The clear writing E in On. Am. suggests that the element Hnt signifies a stone 'prominence' of some sort; to the variants quoted by Gauthier add E in P. Amiens, rt. 2, 1; 1, 11; the variant in G omits the god's name, unless this is absorbed in the standard T below, and the writing E in the scenes from the tomb of Rekhmîre is that of the nome, the IXth of Upper Egypt. The alternative name Ipw 'Ipu' (var. Ipw) found in some of the lists is very common on monuments from the site, see Gauthier, Personnel, 16, 17, 20, 21 and passim, but apart from instances on the reconstructed temple of Sesostris I at Karnak and on two slightly later monuments from Medâmûd (Cotterieille-Giraudet, Médamoud: Mon. du moyen empire, Pls. 1, 5) does not occur before Dyn. XVIII; see Brugsch, DG 19, 1049 f.; Gauthier, I, 67. The deities were Min-Hör (or Har-Min) and Isis as at Coptus (see on No. 340; correct Pl. 25 accordingly); for instance, Neeskons (Dyn. XXI) was 'prophetess of Min-Hör and Isis in Ipu', Maspero, Momies royales, p. 578. Late documents name other deities as well, in particular Ipw Rpyt, 'Ripelt', Triphis, represented lion-headed and considered as wife of Min, and Khad ps hnd Kolávōys 'the child'; for earlier references see ZAS LXII, 90, and for the actual home of Triphis in the western desert below under No. 355 D. [355] E G, nøy(t) 'Neshyet', probably on the left bank at no great distance from Ibhâg (No. 355 B); Gauthier, III, 105 thinks the name may be preserved in the Arabic name bl-Minshâh (No. 353 C), but for this, as we have seen, demotic gives as the early equivalent P-sy = ψΩΙ, and the suggestion has no positive argument in its favour; Neshyet is

that the Greek P. London 604 is concerned with property in land belonging to persons whom their names show to have been natives of Ptolemais Hermoniou (El-Minshâh, above, No. 353c) and of Ekhmîm, and the list was drawn up by the καρυογράφια (τεος) Κροκοδεῖλων πόλεως; this makes it probable (though not certain, as Dr. Bell warns me) that a Κροκοδεῖλων πόλις was situated at no great distance from El-Minshâh and Ekhmîm, and one cannot but agree with Steindorff (loc. cit. 537, n. 2) that this was the Egyptian Neshyet, though I have failed to find any basis for his further statement that Ptolemaic nome-lists place Neshyet in the Thinite nome; apparently the only Graeco-Roman list where Neshyet occurs is the list of supplementary districts from Edfu given in the Table (List XIII), where the name of the district in question seems unique and has no connexion with the Thinite nome. Ptolemy's Κροκοδεῖλων πόλις is placed by him in the midst of the cultivation (μεօύγελος) in the Aphroditopolite nome on the west bank immediately after Ἀφροδίτης πόλις, the capital of that nome, and next before Πτολεμαΐς ἡ Ἐρμείου, capital of the Thinite nome. There seems something seriously wrong with the latitude ( $27^{\circ} 20'$ ) assigned by Ptolemy to Aphroditopolis, being the same as those given to both Crocodilopolis and Panopolis; for while it is possible that the two latter might be at the same level — in which case Crocodilopolis would doubtless be at the south end of the Aphroditopolite nome — it is glaringly contrary to the known facts that Aphroditopolis (Kôm Ishkâw, below, No. 362) should be put no further north than Panopolis (Ekhmîm). If Crocodilopolis was almost due west of Panopolis, it would be near the White Monastery (Ed-Dér el Abyad, below, No. 355D), and that was perhaps the sole reason why St. Quatremère, Champollion and Letronne coupled Crocodilopolis with Copt. ΔΤΡΗΠΕ, this without quoting any

evidence. If, on the other hand, Ptolemy's Crocodilopolis was really close to Aphroditopolis, in disagreement with the relation of its latitude ( $27^{\circ} 20'$ ) to those of Panopolis ( $27^{\circ} 20'$ ) and of Ptolemais ( $27^{\circ} 10'$ ), then it could not be identical with Neshyet, but might possibly be the Pi-conkh of the Medinet Habu list (below, No. 359), where there was also a cult of suchos. The latter alternative is favoured by Gauthier, Rec. trav. XXXV, 166, who very wrong-headedly attempts to refute Wilcken's view that the London papyrus is concerned with Ptolemais and the surrounding country. If Ptolemy's Crocodilopolis is to be equated with Pi-conkh, then we have to assume two distinct towns of that name at no great distance from one another, and this is highly improbable.

[355A] grjt? 'Gerget (?)' On. Ram.

only, reading uncertain, see Pl. 2 A, 216, note a; On. Ram. closes with this name, and all that can be said about the location is that it lay downstream from Ekhmim. Gauthier, V, 219 quotes examples of a place-name grjt from the Fayyûm, among them the M. K. stela Lyon 90; but there is no evidence of the location of the grjt of that stela.

[355B]

Sôhâg, left bank, a modern town of some size. Wilkinson (Modern Egypt and Thebes, II, 97) says that its mounds show it to have succeeded to an old town, but he found no stone remains, and Porter & Moss, V, 31 quotes nothing from the site.

[355C] reading unknown, Abydos list only. Here has been entered in the Table the Medinet Habu deity following immediately upon those of Ekhmim; he is hr-'un-mut-f 'Horus Pillar-of-his-mother' and is represented falcon-headed and wearing the double crown. The epithet is well-known as both that of a god (Pyr. 1593, 1603) and that of a priest (Wb. I, 53, 16; ZAS XLI, 88f.); and it seems significant that the title 'overseer of the harem of Pillar-of-his-mother' is given to a

woman whose coffin (Cairo 2800b) comes from Ekhmim, Lacau, Sarcophages, I, pp. 17, 19. A falcon-headed Horus with the double crown was characteristic both of the Panopolite (IX) and Aphroditopolite (X) nomes, the boundary of which we have now reached, see the representations from Denderah, Brugsch, Thes. 621.

[355D] Ed-Der el-Abyad 'The White Monastery'; built by Shenute at the edge of the western desert slightly to the S. of Sôhâg, which again is slightly further S. than Ekhmim on the E. bank, here claims our attention as a possible site for B11 of the Medinet Habu list, where it follows Ekhmim (B9) after the intervening entry discussed above under No. 355C. No difficulty arises from the position of B11 after B9, since, as pointed out under No. 355, the Nile turns south-westwards below Ekhmim, so that a site in the western desert a little S. of that town might still follow this in a consecutively arranged list as being further downstream. The god of Medinet Habu B11 is hr imy snwt (?) 'Horus who is in Shenwet (?)', a deity celebrated in magic, who, in spite of the falcon-nature of Horus, is sometimes depicted as a crocodile (references, Kees in ZAS LXIV, 107ff); here unfortunately the figure of the god is destroyed, as well as the head of the determinative accompanying his name. At the White Monastery Kees found a naos dedicated by King Achoris (Dyn. XXIX) to var. hr-imy-snwt nb nsw (nsw) 'Horus who is in Shenwet (?), lord of Neshau' or 'Shau', and concluded from the number of granite fragments in the building and lying around that the naos stood approximately on its original site. If so, that site might well have borne the name nsw or ns, though the introductory nb is not as conclusive as hr-ib would have been; moreover, a granite altar found on the same site and published later (Ann. Serv. XXXV, 207ff.) was undoubtedly an import from Nagr el-Meshaikh.

(above, No. 351A). At all events, no other Egyptian name is known for the place upon which the White Monastery stands, since, although the Coptic texts frequently speak of this as Ν ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΑΤΡΙΠΕ 'in the mountain of Atripe', Atripe itself was situated 3 km. further south near the village of Ḫanīnah, where Petrie excavated a Ptolemaic temple of the goddess  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$  Rpyt, gk. Tp̄phis (the T- is the fem. definite article  $\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{k}}$ ); the Greeks called the temple Οπιλείον, but the Copts, prefacing the name of the goddess with the word  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$  hut—the fact is nearly certain—made the place-name into ΑΤΡΙΠΕ; see my note The supposed Athribis of Upper Egypt to appear in JEA XXXI. Daressy (Rec. trav. XIX, 21) reported having seen the place-name  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$  Pr. hr-imy-Snwrt (?) 'The house of Horus who is in Shenwet(?)' in a Ptolemaic temple recently discovered near the village of Wanninah, by which he presumably meant one of the temples later excavated fully by Petrie. Since, however, this place-name does not occur in the published scenes (Petrie, Athribis), the place it designates was doubtless elsewhere, possibly, as we have seen, on the site of the White Monastery. 356  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$  G, Pr.-Sngr? 'Passenger?' unknown locality, Gauthier, II, 129; the sign read  $\ddot{\text{H}}$  doubtfully might be  $\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{m}}$  or something else. 357  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$  επάτοιος G, Ds.-ruh; 'Djac-rūhe', literally 'evening storm'; Gauthier, VI, 111 and more fully the same author in Bull. inst. fr. X, 113 f.; the reasons he gives for identifying the place with a Coptic πανθού 'the island of the wind' said in the life of Shenute to be 'opposite Ekhmîm' are far from convincing, the Coptic name in question being an emendation of πανεγηού (see Crum, 730, top) based on the Arabic translation, and the position is hardly appropriate. Further references to Djac-rūhe have now been found in P. Amiens, rt. 3, q. 10, see JEA XXVII, 39. 45; the

second reference speaks of 'the island east of Djac-rūhe' and the corn put on board there was somehow connected with the administrative centre of Ekhmîm, i.e. was implicitly in the Fanopolite nome; if the word 'island' here could be trusted to have its literal sense, the town would have to be sought on the left bank.

357A Unknown town, with a goddess who must have been Hathor, to judge from the trace  $\ddot{\text{H}}$  of her name which remains; Medinet Habu list only, B12.

357B  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$   $\ddot{\text{L}}\ddot{\text{B}}$  .... rs? unrecognizable place-name, Medinet Habu list, B13. The deity depicted was apparently ram-headed.

357C Medinet Habu list, B14; a god was depicted, but his head and the accompanying legend are completely lost.

358  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$  G, Shut-k 'Ha-k', here name of a town, Gauthier, IV, 139. Daressy (Rec. trav. XVII, 119) refers to a stela from Ekhmîm in the Cairo Museum mentioning  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$  'Shepsy, lord of Ha-k', with the same god as at Medinet Habu (B15), where he is shown with ibis-head and atef-crown (verified on the original); unfortunately Daressy omits to say whether he is depicted on the stela or to what period this belongs. The same town and god are mentioned on the Griffith fragments (Dyn. XX) described JEA XXVII, 67 f., the spellings here being  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$  and  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$  respectively. The god Shepsy appears to be identified with Thoth in the Medinet Habu scenes, and in agreement with this a Toronto ostracon speaks of 'offerings to Thoth in  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$ ', Theban Ostraca, p. 16. At el-Ashmûnê, on the other hand, Shepsy is shown human-headed and as third person of the triad together with Thoth and Nehem-away, see below on No. 377. In spite of the repeated  $\ddot{\text{H}}$  or  $\ddot{\text{H}}$  on the Ekhmîm stela and the ostracon, probably only Shut-k was meant, the final  $\ddot{\text{H}}$  in the writing  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$  perhaps being intended to indicate that the word ended.

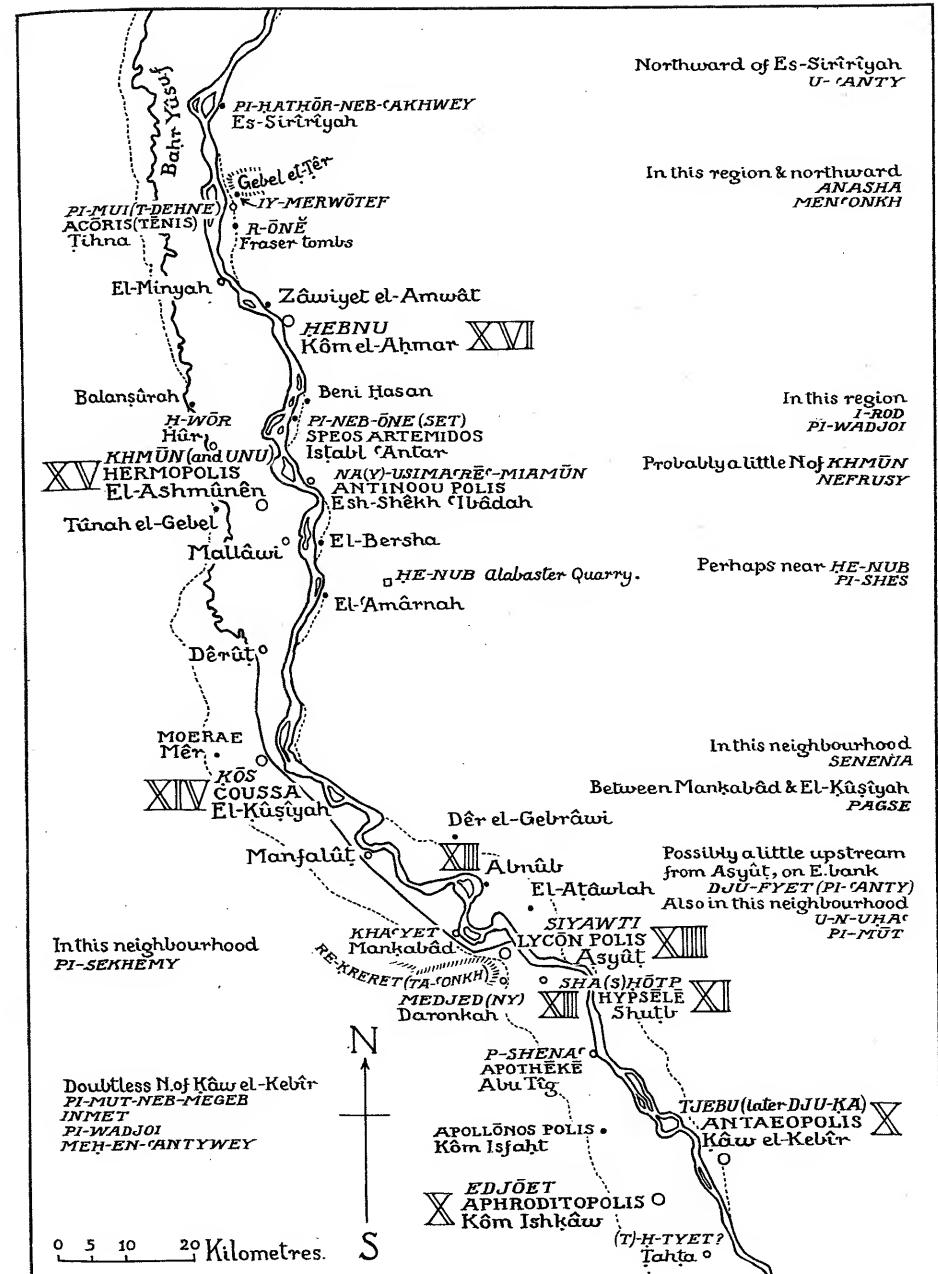
Textual Note. 358<sup>a</sup> Bicentric writing of  $\ddot{\text{H}}\ddot{\text{A}}\ddot{\text{D}}$ .

in -k, cf. such writings as ; on this view the doubled u in the two examples mentioned would be secondary and due to a misunderstanding of the function of the o in the other cases. Some such view appears necessary, since the writing occurs Brit. Mus. 138, the hieratic stela relating to Amenhotpe, son of Hapu, where all commentators recognize the word as merely a writing of hwt-k; 'soul-mansion', and consequently as containing only one k; the same writing of the word P. Abbott, vs. B, 13, and with instead of P. Mayer A, 5, 1; P. Brit. Mus. 10052, 10, 11; however, in On. Am. No. 435 the word is written normally as in earlier periods. Sethe's contention (Festschrift f. G. Ebers, 111) that the o was due to misinterpretation of the old common in the hieroglyphic is unlikely, since hieratic is always elsewhere correctly rendered. In JEA XXVII, 67 'El-kak' was given as a purely conventional rendering of the place-name; here 'Ha-k' is preferred, and this rules out Daressy's identification with a village 'El-Agagieh'; moreover, Gauthier was able (Bull. inst. fr. X, 104) to find only a village where the initial rayon would still further vitiate Daressy's suggestion. G, in lacuna save for the determinative at the end; it is by no means improbable that the missing name is the Pr-chnb 'Pi-conkh' of the Medinet Habu list (B16), where a ram-headed Selk-Rē was worshipped; the god in this scene is depicted Wilkinson, Manners & Customs, ed. Birch, III, fig. 551, 1. The references to the town elsewhere throw no light on the position: in the Tomb-robbing papyri (P. Abbott, vs A, 16; B, 16; P. Mayer A, 1, 12, 13) a certain Senhasi is said to have been 'prophet of Suchus of Pi-conkh'; a graffito from Abu Kūs on the road to Hammāmāt mentions an officer from the same place, Weigall,

Travels, pl. 7, no. 1b = Courrat & Montet, Hammāmāt, no. 251; lastly there is an obscure reference on a Ptolemaic stela from Ekhmîm, quoted by Gauthier, II, 63, who recalls his guess (see above, no. 355) that here, rather than at Neshyel, was situated Ptolemy's Kροκόδειλων πόλις on the left bank and registers a further conjecture of Daressy's that lacks, so far as I can see, any solid foundation. G, Pr-nhb-n' 'Pi-nekheb-en-Isha', i.e. 'House of the newly opened land of Isha', not mentioned elsewhere; Gauthier, II, 97 has some groundless conjectures. For nhb see above, no. 53; it is just possible that here is for , see the Textual note 105<sup>a</sup>, and in this case we must render 'The newly opened land of Isha'. Jahta, not in the lists, a town of some size on the left bank, with ancient mounds, Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes, II, 96; Golénischeff (Rec. trav. XI, 96 f.) found here blocks of Roman date mentioning a god (Horus?) of Hwt-tyt 'Hwt-tyt' which, he suggests with some plausibility, may with prefixed feminine article have given rise to the modern name; Gauthier, IV, 141 wrongly credits Daressy with this suggestion, and equates the place with another Hwt-tyt which was in reality in the Heracleopolite nome.

G, Ibw 'Iebu', old writing Gk. Arraiou nolis, Copt. TKW<sup>Y</sup>, later TKO<sup>Y</sup> (Crum), at the beginning of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century represented by the village of Kāw el-Kebir on the right bank, with a fine Ptolemaic temple; the stones of the temple were subsequently carried off to build a palace in Asyut, and the village was washed away by the Nile and replaced at the edge of the desert by the present El-Etmāniyah; for the ancient remains, descriptions, etc., see Porter & Moss, V, qff. The identification of Antaeopolis with Kāw has long been fixed by the Greek dedication Ἀρταιώ[ι] καὶ

τοῖς συννά[ο]ις θεοῖς on the destroyed temple, Dittenberger, I, No. 109. As regards the town of ȝebu, Gauthier, VI, 75 (many references here and in his earlier discussion Rec. trav. XXXV, qff.) rightly rejected the old error which identified it with لِدْفَى Idfâ only 6 km. NW. of Sôhâg, but for his part declared its site uncertain; Sethe, Urgeschichte, § 51 placed it much too far north at أبو تيج Abu Tîg on the evidence of a single statue the provenance of which is not fully established; Kees, ZÄS LXXII, 51, suggested كُون إسفاخت Kôm Isfaht, earlier تْسْفَعْ إسفاخت, Copt. <sup>b</sup>CBEZT (Maspero & Wiet, I, 154 f.), but without better grounds. As against these suggestions, Steindorff's contention that ȝebu, Antaeopolis and Kâwel-Kebir are all identical (Steckeweh, Fürgengräber von Kâw, 4 ff.) is supported by the strongest possible testimony; not only is the Egyptian equivalent of Antaeus  ntywry 'Antywey' found on many monuments from the site, but also on several of them he is styled 'lord of ȝebu', see JEA XXVII, 45, n. 2. In the great Edfu nome-list (XII in the Table, Pl. 26) ȝebu is the capital of the nome of  W<sup>3</sup>dt, the X<sup>th</sup> of Upper Egypt, for which see under No. 362; similarly in de Morgan, Kôm Ombos, No. 889 ȝebu is mentioned prominently in connexion with the same nome; in List XV of the Table Antywey is the representative god of the nome. In a Philae nome-list (Düm, Geogr. Inschr. I, Pl. 49), as well as in a closely related list at Denderah (op. cit. I, Pl. 8) the nome-capital is given as  Qw-k<sup>3</sup>, lit. 'High Mountain', and on an inscription of Saite period or later reported to have come from Kâw (Bull. inst. fr. I, 106) the funerary formula is addressed to Osiris  'dwelling in Qw-k<sup>3</sup> in the nome of W<sup>3</sup>dt'. Now, as Brugach already recognized (DG 1004), Qw-k<sup>3</sup> is the evident origin of Copt. TKWOY, TKOOY, and that this

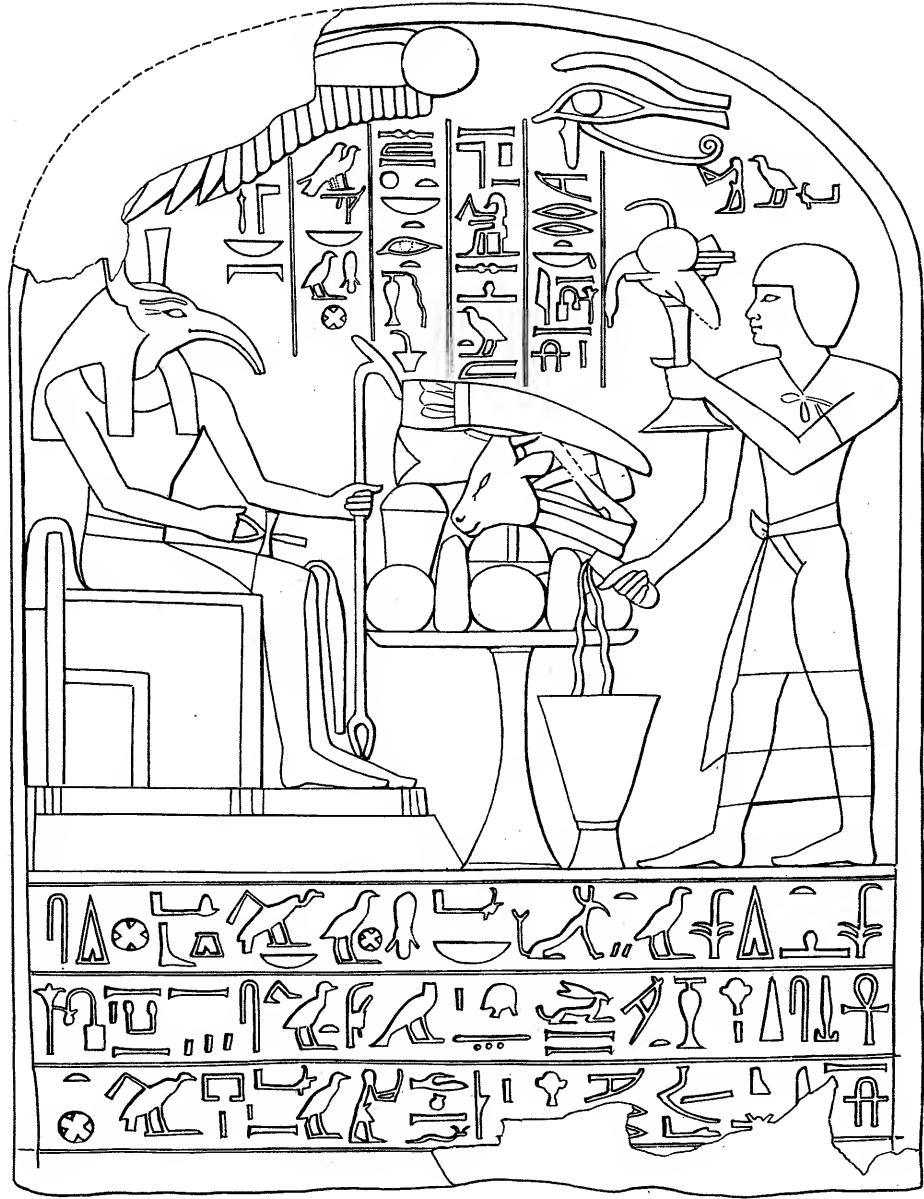


## SKETCH-MAP OF UPPER EGYPT

From Tahta to Es-Sirriyah.

again is the origin of the Arabic Kâw is obvious; the equivalence of TKWQY on the one hand with Kâw and on the other hand with Antaeopolis is categorically stated by the Rylands bishoprics list (Munier, Recueil, 50) and by some scalae (Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 241). Thus Steindorff is undoubtedly right in thinking that Dw-k3 was the later Egyptian name of the town early called Ijebu; Dw-k3 'High Mountain' clearly refers to the eastern hills in its immediate neighbourhood; the Middle Kingdom tombs are situated 'at the projecting corner of the mountain, which there curves inward to the east', Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes, II, 91f. The question whether there was ever a moment when Ijebu-Antaeopolis had not yet attained the position of a nome-capital or, having attained it, had to resign it to some other town, cannot receive an answer for lack of evidence so far as the Pharaonic period is concerned, but the state of affairs from Roman times onward will be outlined under No. 362. Here it need only be noted that in the recently published Amiens papyrus and Griffith fragments, both of Dyn. XX, Ijebu is named as at least exercising the administrative functions of a nome-capital, see JEA XXVII, 42. 67. To return now to the god Antywey, his name was early written with two falcons , sometimes in a boat as shown above, but was subsequently misinterpreted as  or , see under Nos. 324-9 and especially Sethe, Urgeschichte, § 51; the  of Harris (see the Table) is wrongly read Pr-db-wy, Gauthier, II, 141, top. Sethe has deduced that the early reading (later replaced by ntrywy, see Kees in the book quoted below) was ntrywy, which he interprets as 'The Two with the Claws' ('die beiden Bekrallten'); certain it is at all events that the name represents two deities fused into one, just as Horus and Seth were united in the person of the Pharaoh, see the evidence collected by

Kees, Horus u. Seth, II, 12 ff. In truth, the two gods were not merely fused, but also reconciled, to judge from the priestly title  shtp ntrywy 'reconciling the two gods' found at Kâw, Bull. Inst. fr. I, 104; Ann. Serv. IV, 129f.; also  Hwt-shtp 'Mansion of Conciliation' occurs at Denderah (Chass., Dend. I, 94; Gauthier, IV, 128 says also at Philae, but without reference) apparently as a secondary name of the capital of the X<sup>th</sup> nome. I have not found the reference for  said to be used in the same connexion, Gauthier, V, 85. From the writing one would imagine that the god Antywey became preeminently a falcon-god, and Sethe (ZÄS XLVII, 50) has quoted two late examples in which he is explicitly equated with Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris; but testimony is accumulating to the effect that both early and late he was often thought of rather as a form of Seth-Typhon. Diod. I, 21 relates that the struggle between Horus and Typhon 'took place on the banks of the Nile near the village now known as that of Antaeus', and this is confirmed by epithets like 'the two Anty in the Aphroditopolite nome, who contended in this nome', Brugsch, geographie, I, Pl. 22, cf. also Lanzone, Pap. Lac Moeris, Pl. 7, no. LXV quoted by Sethe, ZÄS XLVII, 54, as well as by a passage of the myth of Horus narrated on the walls of the temple of Edfu, Chass., VI, 220. The equivalence of Antywey and Seth at Kâw is shown by the stela Or. Inst. Chicago 10510 herewith reproduced by the courtesy of the Director, Prof. Wilson: on this stela (Dyn. XVIII-XIX) the god   'Antywey, lord of Ijebu' is shown seated in the familiar aspect of the animal-headed Seth; in the formula of offering below he is described outright as   'Seth the victorious (nht), lord of Ijebu'. A much worn stela published by Brunton, Gaw and Badari III, Pl. 32 (= 33, b) shows the mayor of Ijebu May worshipping a hippopotamus amidst a clump of papyrus; the



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On. Am., G 5, 3.

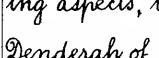
damaged inscription, several signs of which are doubtful, appears to give the name of the god as 'Seth the victorious, the hippopotamus (? hsb or db), the lord of Ijeru in (?) the nome of W3dt'. Again, P. Ch. Beatty IX, Bq. 1, in a series of invocations to Seth among other gods, gives 'O Seth (the restoration is certain) who art in W3dt'. Further, the two highly interesting late representations of the god copied by Golénischeff in a quarry near Khaw el-Kebir (ZÄS XX, 135 ff.) and the third later discovered by him in the Cairo Museum (ZÄS XXXII, 1f.) all show him accompanied by Nephthys, and this fact again points to his identity with Seth. Hitherto the identification of the Egyptian 'Antywey' with that Antaeus whom the Greeks conceived of as a Libyan giant slain by Heracles has been supposed to rest solely on the resemblance of the names; the equation with Seth-Typhon indicated above shows more resemblance between the Egyptian and Greek legends than had been previously suspected.

 362  G, W3dt 'Edjō', here undoubtedly a town, though written with the standard  more appropriate to nomes; so too in the Wādy el-'Arish list (XI), where only towns are named, and probably also in the book Que mon nom fleurisse (List XV), where the only exceptions are where the ordinary names of Denderah (No. 30) and of Memphis (No. 40) might have been expected. Gauthier (Rec. trav. XXX, 2 ff.) quotes a considerable number of examples of  and the like where it is often impossible to be sure whether town or nome is meant, for the determinative  as we shall see, is not as decisive as might be supposed. That the name of the Xth nome, usually written , is to be read W3dt 'Edjō' (reasons for preferring 'Edjō' to the commonly accepted equivalent 'Buto' are given below under No. 415) is proved by  Pyr. 792 and by the Dyn. XIX variant  Mar, Abydos,

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I, Pl. II, nos. 59, 90; presumably such was the reading also of the name of the town. The entry in On. Am. makes it practically certain that this refers to a town distinct from Ijebu which there precedes it, though sceptics might point to the undoubted duplication of names in the case of Edfu (above, nos. 318-9) and to the attribution to ⲣⲥⲩ in List XV of the god Antuwyet so intimately associated with Ijebu. In taking the view indicated by the Table I have been largely influenced by the facts (1) that the apparently unique ⲣⲦⲩ Pr-W<sub>3</sub>dt 'Pi-Edjō', 'House of Edjō' in the Karnak goddesses' list is likely to be a mere variation of the name ⲣⲦⲩ W<sub>3</sub>dt, and (2) that the same list explicitly identifies the goddess of Pi-Edjō as Hathor, the Egyptian counterpart of Aphrodite, so that not only does the identification of the nome of W<sub>3</sub>dt with Ptolemy's Ἀφροδίτοπολίτης receive confirmation, but also the town W<sub>3</sub>dt = Pr-W<sub>3</sub>dt must presumably be looked for on the site of the Ἀφροδίτης πόλις which Ptolemy gives as the capital of that nome, west of the river and lying inland (μεσόγειος). A multitude of Greek papyri discovered at جِيَهُوْس كِمْ إِشْكَاهُوْس, some 6 km. measured by the river upstream from Kāw-Antaeopolis on the opposite bank, has proved this to be the site of Ptolemy's Aphrodites polis, the Aphrodītē of the Byzantine papyri and the ΤΣΧΩΟΥ or ΣΧΩΟΥ of the Copts, for the authorities see Gauthier in Rec. trav. XXX, 169 ff. With regard to this Aphrodites polis, I am indebted to H. J. Bell for the following summary of facts and conclusions: 'According to Wilcken Archiv VIII 84 f. the earliest known references in Greek papyri to this place are PSI 815, 816 (second cent. B.C.), where it is a nome-capital. Kornemann conjectured that in the Flavian period the nome became that of Apollonopolis Heptakomia, which the name shows to have been formed by combining seven villages. It was never itself called Ἀπόλλωνος but only Heptakomia; but the nome

was called Apollonopolite and is well attested in the papers of the strategus Apollonius, P. Giss. and P. Bremen. Kornemann's theory (see P. Giss. I, pp. 13 ff.) finds apparent confirmation in P. Bremen 42 (reign of Trajan or early Hadrian), where Ἀφροδίτης πόλ(εως) καὶ Φθλᾶ (common as Φθλά in the 6th century Aphrodito papyri) occur evidently as in the Apollonopolite nome. But in the 6th century Ἀφροδίτης κώμη is in the Antaeopolite nome; and in the 8th, under the Arabs, we find another change: κώμη Ἀφροδίτω forms a separate pagarchy, and Ἀνταίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος combine at least temporarily to form another (Kornemann, p. 13, n. 5, refers to Crum's mention in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, p. 42 of a convent in the nome [νομός] of the city [πόλις] of Ibeht). On the papyrological evidence known to me, then, the history would appear to be: Aphroditopolis, capital of the Aphroditopolite nome, Ptolemaic period; Aphroditopolis in the Apollonopolite nome, reign of Trajan; Aphrodites komē in the Antaeopolite nome, 5th and 6th centuries; komē Aphrodito as a pagarchy, Antaeou and Apollonos as a combined pagarchy, Arab period; P. Cairo Masp. III 67303, 5 (A.D. 553) and 67301, 10 (A.D. 531), which mention a village Ταυραιθέως τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνοπολίτου μηκροῦ νομοῦ (67303), show that the Apollonopolite nome went on; hence we have, not a change of name merely, but an actual transfer of Aphroditopolis from the Apollonopolite to the Antaeopolite nome some time between the 2nd and the 5th century. Apart from the intrinsic interest of this statement, its value to Egyptologists lies mainly in its revelation of the kind of transfers that may have taken place in the Pharaonic period, but have left no trace in our records; the nome-lists of the Graeco-Roman temples are entirely under the domination of the traditional Pharaonic series, and as we have seen under No. 361, the only capital of the W<sub>3</sub>dt-nome mentioned in the hieroglyphs is the

modern Kâw el-Kebir (Antaeopolis), whether under its earlier name Ijebu or under its later name Qw-k 'High Mountain', the Coptic ΤΚWOY. Nevertheless, a few glosses on Bell's statement may be permissible. In Pliny (NH V, 49) there is an Antaeopolite nome distinct from the Aphroditopolite, and so too in Ptolemy Ἀυταίου is the capital of a nome of its own to the east of the river, the Ἀνταιοπολίτης, while to the west, as we have seen, lay the Ἀφροδιτοπολίτης with Ἀφροδίτης πόλις as its capital. As yet there is no mention of Apollonopolis in the geographical writers, and the hieroglyphs are silent concerning any such town. Its frequent name Επτακωρία suggests that it was of quite recent growth, nor need its god Apollo have been anything else than a borrowing — since a town must needs have a patron deity — of the nome-god Antaeus in the more congenial of his two originally conflicting aspects, that of Horus; cf. Brugsch, Thes. 623 for a representation from Denderah of  Dr. dw nb W<sub>3</sub>dt 'Horus-Shu, lord of the W<sub>3</sub>dt-nome' as falcon and crowned with the double crown. A daring conjecture of Gauthier's (Rec. trav. XXX, 187), of which he himself saw the great difficulties, might perhaps dispense us from seeking an Egyptian origin for the Coptic and modern names of the site. That site is كوم سفاح Kôm Isfah, 14 km. NW. of Kôm Ishkâw, as is proved by two bishoprics lists recently re-edited by Munier. The one (Recueil, 15, 15), recording the bishops attending the Council of Ephesus in 431 A.D., gives ΠΑΒΙΚΟΣ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝCΒΕΓT as the doubtless much later Coptic translation of the original Greek Παβίκος Απόλλωρος. The other (op. cit. 51, 19f.) shows, in the ms. of the Rylands Library, the entry ΔΠΩΛΛΩΝΟ ΚΔΤΩΨ (another ms. rightly ΚΔΤΩ): ΣΒΕΓΤ ΚΔΖΚWOY جـ سـفـح The Arabic here needs correction: another ms. has the proper reading سـفـح جـ سـفـح Sfah, differing only from the existing name by omission of hamza and

by h for k; Crum has seen that جـ must be emended to قـ in conformity with the preceding ΚΔΖΚWOY. The entry leaves no doubt as to the identity of Apollonopolis the Lower with the modern Kôm Isfah, and ΚΔΤΩ 'Lower' is explained by the presence a few lines later of ΠΩΛΛΩΝΟC ΔΝΩ ادفو دـيـنـت 'Upper Apollonopolis' = the town of Edfu. The addition to ΣΒΕΓΤ of ΚΔΖΚWOY is interesting, since ΚΔΖΚWOY means 'region of Kâw' and consequently the whole expression corresponds to the name of the pagarchy Ἀυταίου καὶ Απόλλωρος which Bell informs us was characteristic of the Arab period. It thus seems at least possible that the Coptic ΣΒΕΓΤ was likewise a product of Arab times, and I cannot help feeling attracted to Gauthier's thought of a possible connexion with Arabic سـفـح 'seven', yielding an allusion to Επτακωρία; however, the final T remains unexplained, and it is difficult to see why the Copts should have taken an Arabic word to translate Επτακωρία and why, subsequently, the Coptic place-name should have survived instead of the postulated Arabic one. But even without this etymology it seems legitimate to conclude that Kôm Isfah is a purely Roman site and that no Pharaonic town is to be assumed there. To return now to Aphroditopolis: the Coptic name is ΤΣΚWOY, rather less often ΣΚWOY, and once each ΤΣΚOOY and ΣΕΚWOY (Gauthier, loc. cit. 175). In P. Brit. Mus. 1614 Gauthier does not seem disposed to accept Crum's restoration (in Bell, Aphrodito Papyri, pp. 510f.) of ΠΤΙΜΕ ΝΤΣΚWOY ΠΤΟΨ [NTKWOY] 'the town of Idikow (in) the nome of Ikkow', i.e. 'in the nome of Antaeopolis'; whatever view is taken on this point, Crum himself does not appear to have realized that the Coptic name of Aphroditopolis must actually embody a reference to the same nome; indeed the etymology ΤΣ- (construct

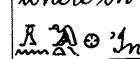
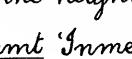
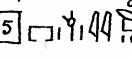
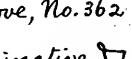
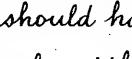
state of  $\tau\omega\gamma$ ) plus  $\tau\kappa\omega\gamma$  seems apparent, so that the Copts will actually have called Aphrodite 'name of Iköw', i.e. 'name of Antaeopolis'. It must be left to the papyrologists to determine the date at which such an appellation can have been given. For our purposes it is important only to note that the Coptic name of Kôm Ishkâw shows unmistakable signs of very recent origin, and the doubt now presents itself whether, after all, that site was the original home of the goddess W<sup>3</sup>dt 'Edjô'. Porter & Moss does not record a single antiquity thence, Quibell in his report Ann. Serv. III, 85 ff. speaks of nothing earlier than an isolated Ptolemaic coin, and the sole piece of evidence which we possess about the position of the town, namely the entry in On. Am., places it after, i.e. northwards of Jebu (Kâw el-Kebîr). Is it not possible that the goddess who typified the nome was transferred to Kôm Ishkâw in Ptolemaic or Roman times, just as we have guessed that the Horus aspect of Antaeus was at a very late moment transferred to Kôm Isfahî? But if Kôm Ishkâw is not the Edjô, Pi-Edjô of Pharaonic times, where is that town to be located? Is it not even conceivable that these were alternative names of Jebu itself? To these questions no answer is at present possible; provisionally I would advocate a more hesitant attitude towards the problem than is indicated in my Table. I now return to the difficulties attending the identification of the town of W<sup>3</sup>dt as such. In the Graeco-Roman nome-lists, or rather the processions of offering-bringing figures which are the equivalents of lists, the figures themselves are signalized as personified nomes, not towns, by bearing the simple nome-sign on their heads, whereas the accompanying legends regularly accompany the nome-sign with the town-determinative  $\ominus$ , e.g. 'King P. has come to thee, Horus the Behdetite  $\Delta\ddot{\gamma}\ddot{\sigma}\ddot{\tau}\ddot{\delta}$  .... that he may bring thee the Dog nome, &c.', Chass., Mammisi, 62;

when, as in our case and (e.g.) in the case of  $\Delta\ddot{\gamma}\ddot{\sigma}\ddot{\tau}\ddot{\delta} \ominus W<sup>3</sup>dt$  'Thebes' or  $\Delta\ddot{\gamma}\ddot{\sigma}\ddot{\tau}\ddot{\delta} Dw-f(y)$  'Cerastes Mountain' (below, No. 368), the name of a nome and that of a town therein (whether the contemporary capital or not) are written identically, we have only the guidance of the other nomes to determine whether town or nome is meant. In this kind of context the vast majority of names are unequivocally names of nomes, so that when in op. cit. 60 we read  $\Delta\ddot{\gamma}\ddot{\sigma}\ddot{\tau}\ddot{\delta}$  we may feel fairly confident in rendering 'that he may bring thee the nome of W<sup>3</sup>dt', not 'the town W<sup>3</sup>dt'. The determinative  $\ominus$  may be due to the fact that the nome would naturally be thought of as represented by its principal town, even if the nome, not the town, were actually named. Consequently we must regard all the examples enumerated by Gauthier, Rec. trav. XXXV, 2 ff. from 'les listes géographiques' as giving the name of the  $\times$ th nome. A decision is far more difficult in the case of the examples given ibid. 4 ff. from 'les monuments non géographiques' and here no general rule can serve us in good stead. Perhaps in the older examples we may incline to take as the town those writings which end with  $\ominus$ , and as the nome those with the determinative  $\equiv$ , but even this seems questionable when in a nearly identical phrase on Dyn. XI stelae 'from Elephantine in the south to W<sup>3</sup>dt in the north', in one example (Petrie, Qurneh, Pl. 2) we find  $\equiv\ominus$  and in two others the nome-determinative ( $\equiv$  Petrie, Dendereh, Pl. 15 = Cairo 20543;  $\equiv$  Mar., Monuments divers, Pl. 49 = Cairo 20512); it might indeed appear reasonable to argue that in all three examples the town was intended (1) because of the contrast with 'Elephantine', and (2) because mention of an entire nome would hardly be precise enough. Such arguments are, however, fragile, and it is obviously impossible here to discuss all similar ambiguities. Other ambiguities arise from writings divergent from the normal, though the very late

examples with two snakes instead of one (  ) and the like, see Lauthier, loc. cit. 36 ff.) can safely be treated as though only one were present. It will be seen below under No. 365 that still within the probable limits of the Xth nome was another town with the similar name Pr-wdwy, and in connexion with this will be mentioned late examples omitting the initial Pr 'House of....', but accompanying the phonograms  or  with the determinative of a fish  or of the plant . Possibly  W<sub>3</sub>d may be the name of the nome, or else of the town at present under discussion. I confess myself unable to see my way through this tangle. Lastly, with regard to the deities of the place. Since the cobra-goddess Edjō (W<sub>3</sub>dt) enters into the name of both nome and town, it is strange that she should not be expressly mentioned as worshipped there. Instead we find Hathor in the Karnak goddesses' list, as also in the great list of deities Mar., Abydos, I, 45 (No. 54  ) and one or two less clear passages quoted by Lauthier, Rec. trav. XXXV, 23. All goddesses were apt to be equated with Hathor, so too Mut who is specially prominent in this neighbourhood, loc. cit. 25 and below, Nos. 363-4 ad fin. But as Sethe has emphasized Urgeschichte, 552, the cobra-goddess is called  Rbhwt 'the water-pourer' in the Pyramid Texts (1180, 1564, 2103) and as tree-goddess Hathor also performed the same function of relieving the thirst of the deceased (Sethe, op. cit., Index, s.v.). That in List XV 'Antiuwy' is named as god of W<sub>3</sub>dt-town is of course due to the proximity of Kāw el-Kebir. 363-4  G, Pr-mut-nbt-mgn (sic) 'Pi-Mut-neb-Megen' (read 'Megeb'), doubtless in the neighbourhood of Kāw el-Kebir.

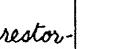
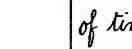
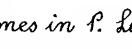
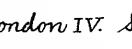
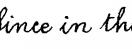
Textual Notes. 363-4<sup>a</sup> Probably delete this ②, on account of which two numbers have been allotted. & amend 1 ②.

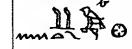
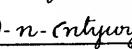
as the following facts suggest. On the Chicago stela depicted above, Pl. 54\*, the formula is addressed to 'Seth, lord of Ijebu' and to  'Mut, lady of Megeb', the dedicatory later on being said to belong to 'Pi-Mut' ( ), this doubtless being an abbreviation of the present place-name and not identifiable with the Pi-Mut mentioned in On. Am. No. 340 just before Asyût. So too probably in the tomb of Rekhmirêr, if Pi-Mut is there rightly read, Newberry giving   and Davies   . It seems possible that this too was the Muthi which the Itin. Anton. places at 8 miles north of Antaeopolis and east of the river, the Mutheos of the Not. Dign. The statue Cairo 585 (Borchardt, Statuen, II, 140f.) of Dyn. XVIII, said on doubtful evidence (JEA XXVII, 44, n.2) to come from Abu Sim, names not only  'Antywey, lord of Ijebu' and 

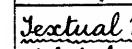
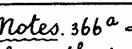
and from the associations with Kāw it is clear that Megeb cannot be the Copt. MANKĀPIWT, Arab. ملکیس Mankabād, which is a little further north than Asyūt on the left bank, see below, No. 342 A. The identification of Müt with Hathör in the Karnak goddesses' list has not been noted elsewhere, but is not unnatural; all goddesses were apt to be equated with Hathör, see above, p. 62\*. Note that somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kāw el-Kebir there was a place called  'Inmet', var.  where Müt was worshipped, see JEA XXVII, 45. [365]  G, Pr.-wdy 'Pi-wadjoy', not to be confused with the Pi-wadjoy much further north beyond El-Ashmūnēn, below, No. 380, nor, of course, with either the Pi-Edjō above, No. 362 or that which was Buto in the Delta, No. 415. The determinative  given in the plate of transcription 11A was based mainly on the shape of the sign, but partly on the gratuitous assumption that this sign (for which see L.-Eq. Misc., p. 54a, l. 11, n.<sup>a</sup>) having been used as principal sign (really only phonetic) in  'idr' 'herd', could become a determinative for 'cattle', i.e. a substitute for ; in that case wdy would have been the word for 'wandering cattle', Wb. I, 398, 13f. This assumption appears, on further reflexion, to be both baseless and improbable, and another solution has to be sought. The comparison with the rather similar hieratic  in htm, lpl. 5, 12, yields nothing, but inspection shows that the hieratic might easily be a corruption of , and that is the solution here adopted. The Karnak goddesses' list gives immediately after 'Hathör, lady of Pi-Edjō' (i.e. Aphroditopolis) a 'Hathör, lady of ' without determinative in the text of Ramesses III, but written  in that of Ramesses XI. Daressy,

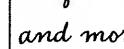
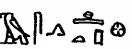
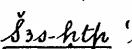
Textual Note. 365<sup>a</sup> Probably to be emended into , see text.

Sphinx, XVIII, 116 ff. showed that the place-name in question was written with  or  and believed it to be the name of Kāw el-Kebir itself. Kees, ZÄS LXXII, 50, n. 8 has rightly connected the name with the fish  found from M. K. onwards (Wb. I, 399, 7f.; add the example Anast. IV, 15, 6 and just possibly  On. Am. 148). Neither scholar, however, has realized that the place in question must be the Pi-wadjo 'House of the (red) wadi-fish' in On. Am. and consequently is a town not identical with Kāw el-Kebir, but fairly near it a little further downstream. It is impossible to determine whether Pi-wadjo is rightly placed after Megeb, i.e. Megeb, in On. Am. or whether it should have preceded this, as in the goddesses' list, there curiously with an intervening No. 25  'Hathör, lady of Egypt'; while No. 27 (after Megeb, No. 26) likewise contains a name that may be not that of a specific town, viz.  'W3dryt nbt Dbnw' 'Edjō, lady of Debnu' (or 'windings', 'coils'? ?). Daressy's evidence above-mentioned is drawn from the same late priestly sarcophagi as two examples of Megeb (see above); the father of the owners of two found at Abydos (Petrie, Abydos, I, Pl. 75) bore the title  'Prophet of Hathör, lady of Wadjo, eye of Her' with the variant , this without ; one of the sons was a scribe of Pharaoh assigned to the temple of Pi-neb-Wadjo - note the insertion 'lady of' - with the name of the town once written  and once  i.e. Pr.-nbt-Wd(yw); from Kāw came the sarcophagus of a  'prophet of Osiris in W3dt, prophet of Suchus, lord of Wadi', Lefebvre in Ann. Serv. XII, 88, to which Daressy added another from the same place, received in the Cairo Museum in 1900, which bore the title

printed by him as  and therefore possibly to be restored as in Lefebvre's text; it seems uncertain whether  Wd, found also written  in connexion with this nome Brugsch, Geographic, I, Pl. 22, is identical with, or to be distinguished from the Wd, Pr-wdy and Pr-nb-Wdy of the other examples. For a lion-god  Iwt 'Iwt' worshipped in this locality see Gauthier in Kêmi, I, 120f.; the sarcophagus of the reign of Domitian which he here quotes (published by Daressy Ann. Serv. XVI, 121ff.) gives this god the epithets  and  (p. 123), besides affording a new example of the place-name  (probably so emend Daressy's  p. 125) and referring to  'Min prominent in Wadj' (p. 122). I take this opportunity of referring to other gods of the Xth nome. (1) Horus-Shu, of whom an example was quoted above, p. 58\*, seems somehow related to the dog-headed  hr p m3cty (?) 'Horus the just (?)', Mar., Dend. IV, 40, 10 = Düm., Geogr. Inscr. I, 79, 10; (2)  m3-hs3 'Miuisis', lion-headed and called 'son of Bast', Brugsch, Ihes. 619, 10; a clear allusion to the same god Chass., Mammisi, 60, X. 366 

 G, mhw(?) - n - cnywy 'Meh(?) - en - Antywey, unknown locality, not in Gauthier; the god's name indicates a place at no too great distance from Kâw el-Kebir.' 366A  B - inc 'P-shenar', Medinet Habu list only, with the cult of Hathor, identified by Daressy (Rec. trav. XVII, 120) with ΤΑΠΟΘΙΚΗ of a Coptic scala (Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 215, l. 28), where it is equated with  Abu Tigris on the left bank 25 km. above Asyût; the gk. ἀποθήκη means a 'storehouse', 'magazine' and may well be the translation of inc, see below, No. 430. Dr. Bell informs me that Ἀποθήκη occurs as a place-name a number

Textual Notes. 366a  seems probable, not only from the form of the same sign in 5, 1, but also from the small  following. \*Wrongly omitted in the plate.

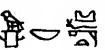
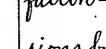
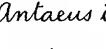
of times in P. London IV. Since in the Medinet Habu scenes P-shenar immediately precedes Re-kreret, which itself is very closely connected with Asyût, the identification may be considered certain; the minor difficulty arising from B 20 will be discussed below under No. 368. It is noticeable that in two Graeco-Roman nome-lists (Mar., Dend. II, 28, 32; Chass., Mammisi, 61) the word  figures prominently in the entry devoted to the Lycopolite nome; was this intended as a hint that Ἀποθήκη belonged to that nome? 367  shashotp, older and more usual writing  shashotp, gk. Τύρλή, Copt. <sup>s</sup> ϣωτπ, <sup>b</sup> ϣωτπ, ϣωտپ, Arab. شوتب Shutb, not far from the river on the left bank 5.5 km. above Asyût, Gauthier, V, 107f. Very often mentioned, together with its ram-headed god Khnum, as capital of the XIth nome of Seth or the Seth-like  šaw 'Shau', for whom see Newberry in Klio, XII, 394ff.; the tombs of an M. K. nomarch, of a N. K. overseer of prophets of Khnum, and of sundry other local dignitaries are found at the desert-edge near šaw, Rifah, 8 km. south-west of Shutb, Porter & Moss, V, 1ff. For the Coptic name see the scalae in Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 243; the bishoprics list (Munier, Recueil, 50, 35f.) gives the equation with γψιλίς; among the Greeks the first mention is in Ptolemy, who makes Τύρλή capital of the nome Τύρλίτης, and places it sufficiently near the modern Shutb, see Ball, 112, and Index, s.v. Hypselē; further Preisigke, III, 336; Gauthier, Nomes, Index, p. 214; for the Arabic name, Maspero & Wiet, I, 113. 367A  fekau, unknown locality, Gauthier, II, 162, only in the Luxor list as copied by Daressy, where it immediately precedes Asyût; since the town before the problematic fekau in the same list is bkhmim, there is a

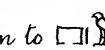
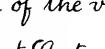
wide range for its localization. 367B Mdd (ny) 'Medjedny' Karnak goddesses' list and also possibly in a lost scene (B 23) of the Medinet Habu series, where a goddess with on her head was depicted; also often named on m. H. coffins from Asyût, with many different writings, e.g. Gauthier, III, 26. The site was perhaps the southern part of the Asyût mountain behind Daronkah, not quite 4 km. due S. of the great town; this suits the lists and here were found two statues of a chief lector-priest whose wife was a musician of 'Hathor of Medjedny', Ann. Serv. XVI, 86 ff.; Bull. MMA, Feb. 1919, pp. 33, 35, see Carter & Moss, IV, 269 f.; the goddess is mentioned also on a statue of Ramesses II from Tanis, with the place-name written and and its identity being confirmed by an accompanying reference to Wepwawet (of Asyût), Cairo 575 = Borchardt, Statuen, II, 133 ff.; finally, the statuette of a cow at Athens (Rec. trav. XVIII, 13) depicts the Hathor of Medjedny since it names another female musician of hers. Perhaps it was the same goddess whom Graeco-Roman texts describe with the epithet 'mistress of the Sixteen', and who is assigned to the Lycopolite nome by Mar., Dend. II, 28, 32 = Chass., Dend. I, 94, XII, a position confirmed by Chass., Mammisi, 11; further references, Spiegelberg in Sethe, Von Zahlen, p. 33, n. 8; ZÄS LIII, 93 f.; LV, 93 f.; Spiegelberg inherited from Wiedemann the belief that this form of Hathor belonged to Heracleopolis Magna, an error due to misinterpretation of the nome-sign in Mariette's publication. It is probably Hathor who receives the name Iphénis () of Medjedny Chass., Edfou, VI, 85, 4, see JEA XXX, 11, n. i. 368

G, Pr.-cnty 'Pi- Anty', Latin Hieracon, position doubtful, but possibly at El-Atawlah, on the right bank barely 5 km.

downstream from Asyût. This town name, wrongly read Gauthier, II, 140, is presumably synonymous with Dw-f(yt) Dju-f(yet) in the Medinet Habu list, where the falcon-headed 'Anty (see above, pp. 19\*f.) is given as the god; since that list habitually names towns, it is here doubtless a town, though the name is identical with that of the XIIth nome of Upper Egypt<sup>1</sup>; so too on two monuments from El-Atawlah, one of the late m. H. naming Rec. trav. XVI, 133 = Ann. Serv. III, 80, where '[Dju-f(yet)]' is doubtless to be restored, the other a late offering-table naming Cairo 23037 = Ahmed Kamal, Tables d'offrandes, Pl. 15 with p. 30; on a statuette of Dyn. XVIII in the Edwards Library, London of an overseer of prophets of (publ. 18 wrongly for ), Rec. trav. XXIX, 219; on an important late stela in Berlin

<sup>1</sup>The early generations of Egyptologists interpreted this nome-name as Dw-f 'His Mountain', though some read it as Mn-f, see Gauthier, VI, 117. The interpretation Cerastes Mountain was perhaps first proposed by Griffith (Hieroglyphs, p. 24), who quoted the word 'cerastes' from P. mag. Leyden (Griffith & Thompson, Den. mag. Pap. 24, 27. Sethe, Ursprung des Alphabets in Nachr. Göttingen, 1916, 152 f.) recalls having seen on a stela in the Reinhardt collection the name of the nome written with the feminine ending, yielding a word 'cerastes', and this, as he points out, is confirmed by the name of the goddess 'she of Dju-f(yet)', Pyr. 1358. Gräseloff has overlooked this writing in his criticism Ann. Serv. XLIII, 312, where he rightly objects to any argument as to the gender of the word for cerastes' being drawn from the spelling , the t here being a very common meaningless adjunct of derived from in hieratic. A demotic example of 'cerastes' has the masc. article, Spiegelberg, Sonnenauge, p. 135. There may, however, have been a masc. word 'he-cerastes' and a fem. 'she-cerastes', cf. the words 'serpent'. Gräseloff may or may not be correct in connecting the word here discussed with 'wife' (Pyr. 149c). It is curious how often the consonant f appears in words for snake and the like; is it because it suggested the hissing of that reptile? Possibly 'ddft' 'snake', 'worm' might be a compound meaning 'which says fff'. But to call a halt to these speculations, the fact that in the nome-name means, not 'his', but 'cerastes' is indicated by the Graeco-Roman spellings Mar., Dend. IV, 41, 12 = Düm., Geogr. Inschr. 79(=80), XII; op. cit. III, 81. Was then the cerastes in the name a divinity? Otherwise one would be tempted to think that the nome in question derived its name from the multitude of the horned vipers on its hill-slopes. Against this, however, speaks the fact that here is apparently a feminine. In any case the above-mentioned goddess 'she of Dju-f(yet)' was not a cerastes, but doubtless the lioness-goddess Matyet, since the context refers to her 'claw' (cnt).

naming  ZÄS LV, 50ff.; in the Greenfield papyrus (ed. Budge, II, 1), where Nestnebshru is called prophetess of  like her mother Neskhons (Maspero, Momies royales, 578), where, however, the divine name is written with ; lastly, in the legend of a falcon-headed god wearing the double crown, Lanzone, Pap. lac Mœris, II, 5, no. 19 (). It seems likely that wherever 'Anty, lord of Dju-f(yet)' is thus found, the town is meant, though absolute reliance cannot be placed on the determinative . It is doubtless this same town which is described in the great Edfu nome-list (Table, List XII = Rochem, Edfu, I, 340) as  Pr-Hr-nbw 'Pi-Harnub', i.e. 'House of the Horus of gold'; and later in the same inscription as  Niwt-n-Hr-nbw 'Town of the Horus of gold'; de Morgan, Kôm Ombo, No. 890 mentions a  Hwt-Nbw 'Mansion of gold' in connexion with the same nome; it is strange that the story of Horus and Seth<sup>(81)</sup> should make the god Anty (who had allowed himself to be bribed by Isis to ferry her across the Nile) say: 'gold has been made an abomination to my town'; there seems a connexion between this saying and the above designations of the town, though it is very obscure; can it be that the writing  was thought to indicate enmity between Horus and gold, just as the rendering ἀντινάθωρ ὑπέρτερος for the same group on the Rosetta stone was evidently intended to indicate enmity between Horus and Nbty 'him of gold-town' (Ombos), see above, No. 341? Another possibly relevant fact is that at least two late legends (the Kôm Ombo inscription quoted above; also Chass., Dend. I, 94, XI) speak of the nome as presenting 'silver'  ȝpywos, and this might conceivably allude to the town's detestation of gold. Other Graeco-Roman designations of the same town are  Niwt-nt-bik 'Town of the Falcon', Düm., Geogr. Inschr. III, 82; similarly II, 28, 4 (= Chass.,

Dend. II, 130), here in apposition to  Pr-Hr(?)-? 'The House of Horus (over the?) Bull'; so too in the almost identical text Mar., Dend. IV, 43, 18, except that there  is written, cf. the name of the god  op. cit. IV, 41, 12. Brugsch, DG 507 quotes from an unidentified source the variant  and Junker (Onurislegende, 39) explains these appellations as referring to the triumph of the falcon-god over a bull or alternatively an antelope, as indeed is explicitly stated in the passage Mar., Dend. IV, 43, 18 and in that from the great Edfu nome-list, cf. also the representations published by Golénischeff quoted above, p. 55\*. Everything thus goes to show that Anty was conceived of on the one hand as a ferryman and on the other hand as a falcon-god subduing the animal emanations of Seth; to the admirable discussions by Sethe ZÄS XLVII, 50ff.; Urgeschichte, § 53 I have only to add that (as pointed out in a letter from Sethe himself) Pyr. 792. 1359 already alludes to the god's activities as a ferryman, that he has now been discovered in both his aspects in the XVIIIth Upper Egyptian nome (see below under No. 384B) and that he differs from the closely related dual or biune 'Antywey of Iebu-Antaeopolis (above, No. 361) only in that, whereas the latter explicitly embodies the opposed natures of Horus and Seth, Anty is a singular falcon-god triumphant over the powers of evil. I venture to offer the practical advice to use the name Anty for the god of the XIIth and XVIIIth nomes and 'Antywey' for the god of the Xth nome, since it is only to the latter that the classical name Antaeus is actually applied. Note, however, that when a god is found written without following  -ty in one of the various forms like  it would not be safe always to assume that Anty is to be read; sometimes the Egyptians may have understood simply Hr 'Horus', as is indeed more than probable at Hebnu, see ZÄS XLVII, 51 and below, No. 382. It is noticeable that all these falcon deities, for whom see Kees, Horus u. Seth, II,

12 ff. in addition to the authorities already quoted, belong to the E. bank, though there are one or two cult-places the whereabouts of which are not known (Irty, Newberry, El Bersheh, I, Pl. 15; Rngs and Mndw, Mar., Abydos, I, Pl. 45). Side by side with Anty in the Cerastes Mountain nome (XII) was worshipped the lioness-goddess Matyet (Davies, Deir el Gebrawi, I, Pls. 13. 17. 23; II, 26; Lepsius, Denkm. II, 80, b), lady of a town Ishkmt (Davies, op. cit. II, pp. 43 f.); it is needless here to repeat what Davies and others have written about her later identifications with Hathor and Isis, or to produce further evidence (e.g. the Berlin stela quoted above) for the secondary worship of Osiris and Isis in the same nome; let it be recalled, however, that in the Medinet Habu list (VII) Matyet (Matyet) figures beside Anty and is shown as a lioness in the accompanying scene. To turn now to the topographical problem: Brugsch's designation of the nome as Hieracon (DG 1359 ff.) is clearly at fault, since no such designation is found for a nome in Graeco-Roman times; on the other hand, there seems every reason for identifying the Egyptian 'Town of the Falcon' with the town Hieracon which the Itin. Anton. (ed. Wesseling, p. 167; probably also in the corrupt form Theraco, Not. Dign.) places exactly midway between Anteu (Kâw el-Kebir, No. 361) and Antinou (Esh-Sheikh 'Abdah, No. 377B), 52 Roman miles = 77 km. from each. Ball (p. 144) makes the actual distance between the two limits just 12 Roman miles shorter, 92 instead of 104, which would lead us to seek Hieracon at 46 R.m. = 68 km. from either town. This brings us somewhere in the neighbourhood of Der el-Gebrawi, where the O. K. chieftains of the Cerastes Mountain nome have their tombs, about 19 km. NNW. of Asyût at the edge of the eastern desert. One would expect the principal town of the nome to have been situated at no great distance, and the late M. H. monument quoted at the beginning of this discussion may well have

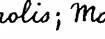
come from the temple of Anty, as well as a fragment of the reign of Sesostris I found with it. These, according to Ahmed Kamal Bey, were discovered, like a late offering-table also cited above, at el-Atawlah, on the right bank barely 5 km. from Asyût; el-Atawlah is, however, 15 km. SE. of Der el-Gebrawi, farther away than one might expect; Davies (op. cit. I, 35) noting that Abnîb, 8 km. nearer Der el-Gebrawi, has an Egyptian-sounding name, thought that this might be a shortened form of Pi-Harmûl, a not very likely hypothesis. But whichever of the above alternatives be favoured, it has to be admitted that any location N. of Asyût is in flagrant contradiction of the data of the Table (Pl. 26). The Medinet Habu list places Cerastes Mountain town further upstream even than Abu Tig, and both On. Am. and the Edfu nome-list name it before Asyût. It is true that the position of Cerastes Mountain nome (XII) before the Upper Nedijet-tree nome (XIII), that of which Asyût was capital (the only departure from this order appears to be a list of Ramesses II at Abydos, Brugsch, Rec. Mon. I, Pl. 13), may easily be explained by supposing that XII extended much farther to the south on the right bank than did XIII on the left; but this explanation does not dispose of the glaring discrepancy offered by the Medinet Habu list and On. Am. With our present material there exists no means of resolving this difficulty. [369] ee 1mm

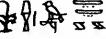
W-n-whc 'U-n-uhac', otherwise unknown, Gauthier, I, 193.

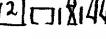
Pr-mut 'Pi-mut', unlikely to be the muthi of the Itin. Anton, see above on Nos. 363-4; otherwise unknown, Gauthier, II, 83.

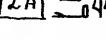
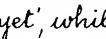
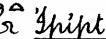
Ta-Cnkh 'Ta-conkh', lit. 'Land of Life', with cult of Osiris, and

R-kert 'Re-karet', lit. 'Mouth of the Cavern', named together in the Medinet Habu list just before Asyût, and evidently names of whole or part of the necropolis there, doubtless with shrines of Osiris and

Anubis respectively; at least one prince of Asyût was overseer of the prophets of Anubis, lord of Re-kareret', Griffith, Suit, III, 61, and the same god's temple contained a statue of Hepdjefi which was to receive offerings when Wepwawet, lord of Asyût, visited it, op. cit. I, 243f.; there are many more mentions in the tombs there and on the coffins thence. Ta-conkh, on the other hand, is not found in the tombs or on the coffins, though Osiris is named in connexion with Re-kareret op. cit. I, 237, 239, and is given the title 'lord of Ta-conkh' as at Medinet Habu, on an Abydos stela (Cairo 20745); in late times Ta-conkh is named in nome-lists in conjunction with the Lycopolite nome, Düm, Geogr. Inschr. I, 52, 2; III, 9. For this and other sites with the same name see Gauthier, VI, 6f. 371  <sup>② G</sup>, swty 'Asyût'; Assyr. si-yātu, gh. Λύκων πόλις (Strabo, Ptolemy), Latin Lycon (Pliny), Copt. <sup>sciooyt</sup>, <sup>scwooyt</sup>, Arab. bȝw̄l, on the left bank near both river and desert, a town of great importance from earliest to latest times and capital of the XIIIth Upper Egyptian nome of  ndjt (later stf) hnt 'the Upper Nedjet-(or 'Atef') tree nome' (on the name see Sethe, Urgeschichte, §54) corresponding to the Λυκοπόλιτης of Pliny and Ptolemy; see Gauthier, V, 3f.; Kees in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Lykonpolis; Maspero and Wiet, I, 16f.; for the tombs and monuments, Porter & Moss, IV, 259 ff. The writing with final n (Wb. III, 420, 2) is certain though rare at an early date; examples of Dyn. XIX, see Murray, Osiereion, Pl. 9 and Griffith, Suit, Pl. 14, l. 41, corrected Kêmi, VI, 149; probably an adjectival form, cf. other names of towns ending in -t, -y  <sup>③ G</sup>; in the Arabic descendant there appears to be but one s, and the name was earlier mostly written bȝw̄s siyt. The principal deity was the jackal-god  Wp-wȝwt Wepwawet (-ophw̄s, -ow̄s in proper textual note). 371a  is ignorantly substituted in fol. for  as below in No. 416.

names, e.g. Πετοφῶις, P. Brit. Mus. I, No. 46 [= Wilcken, UPZ II, p. 131, l. 35], equivalence proved by the demotic translation, Revillout, Chrest. dém. p. 84; many others, e.g. Παυφῶις, Ταυφῶις, in P. Oxy. 984; Φενοπῶις Petr. III, p. 176, No. 59c, 15; information kindly given by Sir H. Thompson, always called a 'wolf' (λύκος) by the Greeks (ZÄS XLII, 99f.), but wrongly, since wolves do not occur in Egypt; the mummified animals found on the spot are either pariah dogs (canis familiaris) or else crosses between dogs and the small jackal (canis lupaster), see Ann. Serv. XXVII, 33ff. The Harris list and that of Medinet Habu both give the god his local title  shem tsawy 'of Upper Egypt, power over (?) the Two Lands'; cf. also Griffith, op. cit. I, 233; Rec. trav. XII, 1; the reading shm is taken from Wb. IV, 244, 11, and is perhaps preferable to hyp because of the determinatives in Harris; there were, indeed, a Wepwawet of Upper Egypt and a Wepwawet of Lower Egypt, often shown confronting one another on stelae, see ZÄS XLII, 103; XLIV, 18; Sethe, Dram. Texte, p. 195; E. Otto in Studia Aegyptiaca, I, 11ff.; see also on No. 372. For the Hathor 'mistress of sixteen' assigned by Graeco-Roman texts to the Lycopolite nome see above under No. 364 B.

372  <sup>② G</sup>, Pr-shmy 'Pi-Sekhemwy'; unknown locality, Gauthier, II, 129; can shmy be a dual, and is there some reference in the name to the epithets of Wepwawet that have just been mentioned?

372A  <sup>② G</sup> Khayet 'Khayet'; Karnak goddesses' lists, in the oldest copy of which the goddess is  Spuyet 'Spuyet', while that of Rameses III, according to the Chicago edition, gives the same but apparently determined with a lioness-head  (Brugsch and Sethe Inpuyet with  doubtless wrongly, there being no room for nn); the Vienna statuette to be mentioned below has  Inpuyet, and an

Abu Simbel scene (likewise below)  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  Ba 'Spt 'Iopet'. The position in the goddesses' list (that of the Wâdy el-Arish proves nothing) would lead us to seek Khacyet between Asyût and El-Küsîyah; that it was situated at  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  Mankabâd, on the left bank near the Nile, earlier with  $\text{js}$  or  $b$ , the MANKAΠWRT of the Copts (Maspero & Wiet, I, 202), is made practically certain by fragments discovered there by Ahmed Kamal Bey, see Ann. Serv. XI, 3f, two of which mention its god  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma\Delta$   $\Xi\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  'Merymâtef, lord of Khacyet', one being a ushabti of a 'first prophet' of his; this god is mentioned in connexion with the same town on the Vienna statuette of a king's son published by von Bergmann, Rec. trav. XII, 1, where 'Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, power over (?) the Two Lands' (i.e. the god of Asyût, see on No. 371) is named together with  $\Xi\Delta\Gamma\Gamma\Delta$   $\Xi\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  'Merymâtef (ram-headed) and Ipiopet, lord(s) of Khacyet'. The god is also depicted as a ram at Abu Simbel, Champ., Not. descr. I, 65. 68, in the first of the two cases accompanied by the lioness-headed Iopet, see above. The position is again clinched by the Abydos nome-list Brugsch, Rec. mon. I, Pl. 13, which, just as it inserted Nbt 'Ombos' between the IVth (Sheban) and the Vth (Coptite) nomes, now inserts  $\Xi\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  between the Cerastes Mountain nome (XII) and the nome of the Lower Nedjefet-tree (XIV), i.e. that of Cusae; but it must not be overlooked that the nome of the Upper Nedjefet-tree (XIII), i.e. the Lycopolite, is also mentioned in this list, though quite exceptionally placed before the Cerastes Mountain nome (XII). All the above evidence is quoted by Gauthier, IV, 166. Mankabâd, 11.5 km downstream from Asyût, is only 7 km. in a straight line from that town, owing to the violent bends which the river here makes. [373]  $\square\Gamma\Gamma\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  G, Pgs 'Pags', exact site unknown, Gauthier, II, 47, where the equation suggested by Daressy

with a village  $\Pi\bar{\nu}\chi\bar{\nu}$  in the Antaeopolite nome (Preisigke, III, 323) is quoted as possible; this must, however, be rejected summarily on the grounds (1) that the Antaeopolite nome was much further upstream (so Gauthier himself, Rec. trav. XXXV, 183) and (2) that the termination -is is purely Greek and ought not to appear in the Egyptian original. In Lepsi, Todt-enbuch, Ch. 142, II, 18  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  Pgs, lit. 'Spittle-town', is found as one of the places where Osiris was worshipped, but for this  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$   $\Xi\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  Pgsu-r 'Pagsu-ro', lit. 'Spittle of the mouth', occurs as variant, Murray, Osireion, Pl. 9, middle; this may well be the same place. [374]  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  G, His 'Kôs', oldest writings  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$ , lk. Kôvôsai (Preisigke, III, 307), Kôvôs (geo. Cyp.), Latin Chusis (Stin. Anton.), Cusae (Not. Dign.), Copt.  $\sigma\kappa\omega\kappa\kappa\alpha\kappa$  KAM,  $\kappa\kappa\kappa\kappa\kappa\kappa$  KAM (Arab. قام, Maspero & Wiet, I, 158 ff.; Crum, Rylands Cat. 131, n. 2; Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 233), the modern  $\ddot{\Delta}\ddot{\Sigma}\ddot{\Gamma}\ddot{\Gamma}\ddot{\Gamma}\ddot{\Gamma}$  El-Küsîyah, on the left bank not far from the Nile, in Pharaonic times capital of the XIVth nome of Upper Egypt, that of  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  Ndft ph(l) 'the Lower Nedjefet-tree' (later 'Atef-tree'), in Greek times merged in the Hermopolite nome (Preisigke, loc. cit.). Many references, Gauthier, V, 164 ff. Little has been found in the actual village (Porter & Moss, IV, 258), but the important tombs of the nomarchs of O.K. and M.K. lie at the edge of the desert near the village of  $\text{js}$  Mér, lk. Moipai, see Blackman, Meir, I, p. 1, n. 1; bibliography, Porter & Moss, IV, 247 ff. For the cult of Hathor there see Blackman, op. cit. p. 2; the great Edfu nome-list describes her as  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  'Macet as the soul of Hathor'; Neskrons and her daughter were both prophetesses of hers, see Budge, Greenfield Papyrus, p. x, Pl. 19, l. 1. [375]  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  G, Snni<sup>3</sup> 'Senenia', otherwise unknown, Gauthier, V, 40. [376]  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  G, Pr-ss 'Pi-shes'; lit. no doubt Textual Note. 376<sup>a</sup> The plural strokes are unusual; was not  $\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$  the reading of the archetype?

'House of Alabaster', though one might have expected the determinative □; very possibly on the right bank near El-Amānah. Until recently no other example was known, since the quotation by Brugsch, DG 876 of a <sup>29<sup>mm</sup></sup> □ 8 1 □ 'mayor of Shes' turns out to be a misreading. A 1 8 2 b 'Edfu' standing in the original, see IAS XLIV, 46. Now, however, a new example has come to light in P. Amiens, vs. 2, x+8, written KA 8 1 8 ss, with the same alternation of KA and □ which is found with No. 380 below and in the well-known writing □ 1 8 □ for KA 1 8 □; the context shows that corn was brought thence, so that the town must have lain within the actual Nile valley. Sethe (Bau- u. Denkmalsteine in Sitz. Berlin, 1933, 882 ff.) in enumerating the various places in the eastern desert whence alabaster was obtained—of these there are two of importance on the level of Beni Suēf and of Asyūt respectively—points out how well the position in On. Am. suits the neighbourhood of El-Amānah, some 18 km. east of which have been found the most famous of all alabaster quarries, those of hot-nbw 'He-nub', commonly called Hatnub (Gauthier, IV, 79); the Amiens papyrus, naming P-shes in a passage where Nefrusy (No. 378) and Khmūn (No. 377) are both mentioned, is in approximate agreement with that view. The Greek name Ἀλαβάστρων πόλις is a perfect translation of Pr-ss, but the town so named is placed by Ptolemy exactly midway ( $28^{\circ}20'$ ) between Ἄκωπις ( $28^{\circ}30'$ ), which is Tihna (below, No. 383) and Ἀντιρόον πόλις ( $28^{\circ}10'$ ), which is Esh-Shékh (Ibādah (below, No. 377B)); this suggests a position near Kôm el-Ahmar, Nebua, No. 382, and that is where Ball, 111 places it. However, Ptolemy seems curiously at sea in locating Hermopolis Magna at  $28^{\circ}25'$  instead of opposite Antinoöpolis, and this datum cannot be used to argue that Alabastrōpolis ( $28^{\circ}20'$ ) lay upstream from the former

town in agreement with the relation of Pi-shes and Khmūn in On. Am. A further scrap of classical evidence would locate Alabastrōpolis north of Hermopolis Magna, cf. Pliny, NH V, 61 oppida Mercuri, Alabastron, Canum; but Ptolemy further perplexes us by describing Alabastrōpolis as μεσόγεος and yet giving it a longitude ( $62^{\circ}30'$  = modern  $31^{\circ}55'$  according to Ball) far out in the eastern desert. Sethe was probably right in maintaining that the classical Alabastrōpolis is to be distinguished from the Egyptian Pi-shes. Is there then no Greek equivalent for the latter place? Bell informs me that an unpublished papyrus in the British Museum (2nd cent. A.D.) mentions an Ἀλαβαστρίνη as in the nomarchy of Antinoöpolis, and this would suit He-nub a good deal better than it would Kôm el-Ahmar. Serious doubts subsist with regard to He-nub, however; was not this quarry worked out long before the Ptolemaic period? It looks to me as though our Pi-shes may well be identical with the Greek Ἀλαβαστρίνη, for which Preisigke, III, 281 cites other examples; but the site of these may very possibly have been nearer to Esh-Shékh (Ibādah (=Antinoöpolis)) than to El-Amānah.

377 11<sup>mm</sup> σε G, Amnu  
Khmūn; normal writing 111 8 and the like, Assyr. Dimunu, gk. Ἐρμοῦ πόλις (in many authors, see Ball, Index, 194; with epithet μεγάλη Ptolemy); Ἐρμοπολιτική φυλακή as toll-station for goods from the Thebaid, Strabo, XVII, 1, 41), Copt. <sup>58</sup> عموين (Maspero & Wet I, 20f.; Munier, Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 243; Recueil, Index, 75), Arab. الأشمونين El-Ashmūnēn, a dual referring to the division of the city into two halves, on the left bank in the midst of the cultivation, the principal town of Wnt 'the hare nome' (XV), but seldom mentioned by this name before the Middle Kingdom, Gauthier, IV, 176; see also the important study by Sethe,

Textual Note 377<sup>a</sup> Faulty, but very common, substitution of Π for Ξ on account of the similarity in hieratic.

On. Am. No. 344 Hmnw.

Amun und die acht Urgotter von Hermopolis, in Abh. Berlin, 1929, where (pp. 35 ff.) both the localities and the cults are elaborately discussed; for some interesting additional notes, see Fairman in Ann. Serv. XLIII, 258 ff. Monuments and finds, Porter & Moss, IV, 165 ff., to which the later reports by Roeder and his colleagues in Mitt. d. deutschen Inst. Kairo, V-IX and Ann. Serv. XXXVIII, 435 ff.; XXXIX, 124 ff. have to be added. The name of the town Khmün, i.e. 'Eight', not found in the Pyramid Texts, is undoubtedly that of the four pairs of primitive gods who were here revered, though only scanty information about them is obtained until Graeco-Roman times. The ibis-headed Thoth appears as 'Lord of Khmün' (written  without determinative, but taken by Sethe to be the town) as early as Dyn. V (Borchardt, Sakurēc, II, Pl. 21); the name both of the town and of Thoth as its lord are very frequent from the Middle Kingdom on. With Thoth were later regularly associated the goddess                                               <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for 'ibis'" data-bbox="13800

On. Am. No. 344A Wnw.

Ethiopian conqueror Piankhi uses them (ll. 31-3) indiscriminately. So too the Leyden stela places the goddess                   <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for

Wnut 'Unwet', essentially the goddess of Unu, among the Hermopolitan deities, separates A<sub>mm</sub> i & m<sub>3</sub> 3 'Amen-Rēr in Unu' from these by mention of the deities of H-wr (Hūr, No. 379 below). Unu alone, and not the neighbouring Khmūn, is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, especially in a passage (Spell 229) alluding to the crushing of a rebellion there directed against Atum, the god of Heliopolis: Sethe, Pyr. Commentary, I, 190 f. quotes in illustration a sentence found in slightly divergent forms in several late magical texts; the earliest version (Ramesside, Pleyte & Rossi, Pap. Turin, 118, 11, overlooked by Sethe) reads '[as] Rēc [saved] himself from the four [enemies] who acted against him in H-wr (Hūr), together with] the enemy who is to the north of Unu'. If, as Sethe supposed, this refers to the suppression of the Hermopolitan doctrine of the four pairs of primaeval beings, these might be represented by the 'four enemies' and Thoth might then possibly be the last-named enemy. If so, the final words might signify that Khmūn, the city of Thoth, lay to the north of Unu. This argument, however, is highly speculative and precarious. For the goddess 'Unwet, lady of Unu' see Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter, § 69; my note ZAS XLVIII, 49, n. 2 and Otto in Studia Aegyptiaca, I, 22 f.; she is also mentioned as the representative goddess of the Hare nome in the nome-list of the reconstructed temple of Sesostris I at Karnak. At Denderah she is depicted with the head of a lioness and the ears of a hare, Mar., Dend. IV, Pls. 81, 83.      374B N<sub>3</sub>(y)-W<sub>3</sub>m<sub>3</sub>t<sub>3</sub>-mry-'Imn 'Na(y)-Usimarec-miamūn' P. Wilbour §§ 89, 140, with a temple of 'Thoth pleased (hr) at Truth'. The former passage places this town between Abydus and P-wadjoi (below, No. 380), but a closer determination is found P. Amiens, vs. 4, x+4 (see JEA XXVII, 54 f.), where corn is spoken of as put on board a boat in 'Na(y)-Usimarec-miamūn'

on the river-bank of Khmūn', i.e. El-Ashmūnēn. Now the nearest point on the river from El-Ashmūnēn is opposite شلشيل Esh-Shékh 'Ibādah, and here, on the site of the later Antinoou polis (Ptolemy, etc.); location early known from inscriptions, Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes, II, 54 ff.; see too Maspero & Wiet, I, 25 ff.), still exist the remains of an important temple of Ramesses II, Porter & Moss, IV, 175 ff., to which add Ann. Serv. XL, 715 ff. Sethe, Urgeschichte, p. 51 and elsewhere, placed H-wr H-wr 'H-wr' on this site, but it seems certain that the name of H-wr survives in the modern Hūr, see below, No. 379, and of the gods named on the walls of the temple Thoth occurs as often as Khnum, while the frog-goddess Hekef(t), Khnum's partner at H-wr, is absent altogether. It seems not unlikely, therefore, that the original name of Esh-Shékh 'Ibādah was Na(y)-Usimarec-setpenre, but that later, in the reign of Ramesses III, the cartouche of that king was substituted for that of Ramesses II. Before the publication of the Amiens and Wilbour papyri, the only known possible references to this town were (1) a fragment of a wine-jar (Spiegelberg, Hierat. Ostr. Ramessum, Pl. 19, No. 145) mentioning a vineyard at Na(y)-Usimarec-setpenre, (2) a similar fragment at Brussels naming Na(y)-Raemesse-miamūn (ZAS LVIII, 29, under III), and (3) the passage Anast. IV, 6, 10-7, 9 discussed JEA V, 188 f. and containing the same place-name as (2). It is far more likely that these wine-producing places were in the Delta.      378 G. Nfrw<sup>a</sup>y 'Nefrusy'; a frequently mentioned town located by Maspero (Proc. SBA XIII, 516 f.), on the strength of the ruins seen by Jomard and reported in the Descr. de l'Egypte, at البلدة Elidem on the left bank some 11 km. due north of Khmūn (El-Ashmūnēn, No. 377) and not far from the Nile; 7 km. distant  
Textual Note. 378<sup>a</sup> w wrongly borrowed from the word wsy below, No. 443.

from and almost due east of H-wr (Hir, No. 379); if that be not the exact site this must be sought rather nearer to Khmün. The grounds for this view are as follows: (1) the position here in G; (2) the close association of Nefrusy with  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$  =  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$  in a number of contexts; (3) the association, not quite so frequent, with the town of Khmün in certain contexts. As against this, Daressy (Ann. Serv. XVIII, 53 ff.) proposed  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$ , Balansurah 7.5 km. north of Hir, where the statues of a mayor of Nefrusy and of his wife, who was a musician of Khnum of H-wr ( $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$ ), were discovered; a stela of the same man in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, was noted by P.C. Smither. But Daressy took this view only because he regarded  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$  Hwt-wr, our No. 379, as different from  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$  Wr-wr, and was therefore able to divorce the latter from Hir, for which he accepted the identification with  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$ . The burial at Balansurah might seem a strong argument, but as against it one of the most frequent titles of the famous Petosiris buried at Tunah el-Gebel W. of, and slightly further S. than, El-Ashmünén was 'second prophet of Khnum-Ker, lord of H-wr (Wr-wr) and of Hathör, lady of Nefrusy' (Ann. Serv. XX, 55) and compare also the sarcophagus from the same place Rec. trav. XX, 85 ff. This evidence shows the argument from place of burial to be indecisive. For Nefrusy and its goddess Hathör see Newberry, Beni Hasan, II, p. 22; Gauthier, III, 84 f., with many references; cf. further 'the boat of Khnum, lord of H-wr ( $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$  Wr-wr) in Nefrusy', Brit. Mus. 1332, see ZAS LXVIII, Pl. 2 and pp. 40 f.; offerings to Ithot in Nefrusy, on an ostracon in Toronto, Theban Ostraca, p. 16; other passages, JEA XXVII, 53. 59, and since then Ann. Serv. XXXIX, 413, see below under No. 381. See further on No. 379.

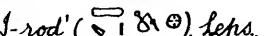
<sup>379</sup>  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$  G Hwt-wr 'H-wr', later writing of  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$  Wr-wr, Copt.  $\text{ȝoywp}$ , the modern  $\text{ȝ}$  Hir (close to  $\text{ȝ}$  Kass Hir) near

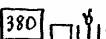
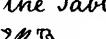
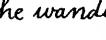
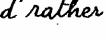
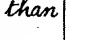
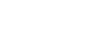
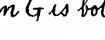
the desert a little way N. of El-Ashmünén and only a trifle further S. than Etlibem, presumed to be Nefrusy (No. 378). The identity of Hwt-wr and Wr-wr, first proposed by J. de Rougé (Rev. arch., 2nd ser. XXIII, 73 ff.) and accepted by Brugsch (DG 524 ff.) and Maspero (Proc. SBA XIII, 511 ff.), was opposed by Daressy (Ann. Serv. XVIII, 53 ff.), whose view is retained by Gauthier, IV, 37. 58. Daressy's principal grounds were (1) the impossibility of separating Wr-wr from Nefrusy; (2) the discovery of statues of a mayor of Nefrusy at Balansurah, see on No. 378; (3) the unproved statement that Nefrusy belonged to the XVIth nome, due perhaps to the fact that the place is often named in the tombs at Beni Hasan; hence he separated Hwt-wr from Wr-wr, locating the former at Hir, but placing Wr-wr at El-Birbah, 5 km. NE. of Balansurah. This standpoint forced Daressy to the assumption that G inverted the order of Hwt-wr and Nefrusy, a serious primary objection to his view. Reference to our Table (Pl. 26) shows both Hwt-wr and Wr-wr in the closest proximity to Khmün (El-Ashmünén) and Khnum is the deity of the town in either mode of writing. Furthermore, the writing with  $\text{𓋓}$  is used exclusively until Dyn. XIX, after which it is occasionally replaced by  $\text{𓋓}$ ; no inscription or papyrus ever gives the place-name in both forms. Formal proof of the identity of Wr-wr and Hwt-wr is furnished by the magical text quoted above under No. 374A, where one and the same sentence provides the variants  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$  Pleyte & Rossi, Pap. Turin, 118, 11;  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$ ,  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$  Schott in Urk. VI, 99;  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$  Ann. Serv. XVIII, 122. Purely philological considerations present no obstacle:  $\text{𓋓}$  as first element in compounds is reduced to h in ZNHC, ȝawli Ihnâsyah, below, No. 389, and this yields a perfect parallel to the equation  $\text{𓋓}\text{𓋔}\text{𓋓}$  = Copt.  $\text{ȝoywp}$  = Arab.  $\text{ȝd}$ ; it is not easy to find another compound with  $\text{𓋓}$  'face' as first element, but since in

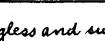
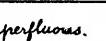
Copt. ⲫ ⲭ the final s is lost, it is reasonable to suppose that the same was true of the status constructus here found. The vocalization, which I formerly (JEA XXVII, 53, n. 3) wrongly guessed to be He-were, is shown by the Coptic ⲫ ⲭ wp to be H-wor; whether or no the name, early written ⲫ ⲭ ⲩ Mar., Mast. 88; ⲫ ⲩ Borchardt, Sahurec, II, Text, p. 94, means 'great face'; as seems probable, the second element -wr is certainly masculine. The Coptic place-name just mentioned, in combination with the data afforded by On. Am. and the other lists (see too on No. 378) puts the identification with the modern Hir above all doubt. Maspero, by whom this localization was apparently first proposed, quoted (loc. cit.) from Jomard to the effect that to the W. of the villages of Hir and Kasr Hir there is a monastery called أبو قرقاص Dér Abu Fānah. Now a passage in the Apophthegmata (Zoëga 348) speaks of a man in Egypt whose name was BANE and who lived ⲫ ⲭ ⲭ ⲭ ⲭ wp 'in the mountain of H-wor'; it is clear that Fānah and BANE are identical. Other Coptic passages naming ⲫ ⲭ wp place it in the neighbourhood of EMMOYN El-Ashmūnēn, see Crum, Rylands Cat. p. 81, n. 7 and No. 211. However, Porter & Moss quote no monuments from Hir. It is unnecessary here to add substantially to the many mentions of H-wor enumerated by Gauthier and others. They date from all periods, Khnum being often named as the principal deity, e.g. in the two O.H. passages referred to above. Beside Khnum in the tombs of Beni Hasan and elsewhere is found the frog-goddess ⲫ ⲭ ⲭ Heket, and it is doubtless owing to his creative function that she too occurs in the birth-scene Naville, Deir el Bahari, II, Pl. 48; her name is written ⲫ ⲭ ⲭ Hkt 'chieftainess' Urk. IV, 389, 5, again among birth-goddesses and similar writings occur in the Karnak goddesses' list and Leyden V1 (see the translation in my printed text), these no doubt being later misinterpretations;

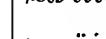
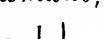
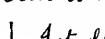
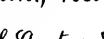
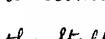
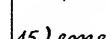
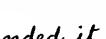
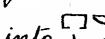
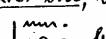
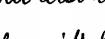
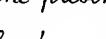
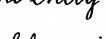
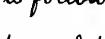
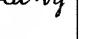
for a goddess with the latter name at Kis see above on No. 339. When we find at Beni Hasan (ed. Newberry, I, p. 85; II, Pl. 19) the writing ⲫ ⲭ ⲭ ⲭ ⲭ for 'Heket of H-wor', the form Hrwyt is clearly a feminine adjective derived from the name of the town. Whether the(human-headed?) goddess ⲫ ⲭ ⲭ ⲭ ⲭ Bwyt 'Bwyet' in the Medinet Habu scenes was another name for Heket is not clear. Lastly, let it be observed that the passage from a magical text alluded to above does not state, as has been maintained, that H-wor lay to the N. of Umu (Hermopolis); what it does state has been indicated on p. 82.\* Sethe (in Borchardt, Sahurec, II, Text, 94, n. 4) speaks of Naville as having proved that ⲫ ⲭ ⲭ is Antinoou polis (Esh-Shékh 'Abdah), but gives no further reference; criticism of this view will be found under No. 379B, where another Egyptian candidate for that site has been proposed.

[379A] ⲫ ⲭ ⲭ ⲭ ⲭ Iw-r(w)d 'I-rod', Harris and El-Arish lists; also in a part of the Luxor list where no topographical sequence is attempted; possibly not far to the north of El-Ashmūnen and the other closely associated towns, but probably within ⲫ ⲭ M̄hd 'the Oryx nome' (XVI); exact site unknown, see Gauthier, I, 47. In M.K. the principal deity was Khnum, see Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, Pl. 4 (W 1 ⲭ); p. 85, and so too probably Féquier, Mon. fun. Pepi II, II, Pl. 33 (W 1 ⲭ), where the god's name is lost, see above on No. 349. Later, Khnum was replaced by Amen-Rē, see beside Harris the Luxor list and Budge, Greenfield Papyrus, Pl. 1 (W 1 ⲭ); 10, 1 (W 1 ⲭ), and so again also later, where the owner of the papyrus bears the title 'prophetess of Amen-Rē, lord of I-rod', like her mother Neokhons (op. cit. pp. x f.); the wife of a high official buried at Kôm el-Ahmar a little above Zawiyet el-Amwāt, this latter almost opposite the large town of El-Minyah on the left bank,

held the rank of 'chief of harem of Amun, lord of I-rod' (, leps, Denkm. Text, II, 56. It is, however, rather unlikely that I-rod was as far north as this, though its localization further south depends largely on whether, as is almost certain, On. Am. 381 refers to Speos Artemidos and whether the order in that list is correct; but see also on No. 380. A casual reference in P. Leyd. 348, vs. 8, 4f. (d.-Eq. Misc. 135, 6f.) and a couple of others in Gauthier throw no light on the position.

**[380]**  G, Pr-wdy 'Pi-wadjoy', exact site unknown, Gauthier, I, 212; II, 73. Elsewhere the second element is regularly determined by  (see the Table) and more often than not the first element  is written  , so that the name perhaps means 'The wandering herd' rather than 'The House of wandering herds'. For wdwwo or wdwyw see Wb. I, 398, 13, and for  in place of the definite article see the Textual Note 105<sup>a</sup>. Note that the place-name has nothing to do with the Pr-wdy 'House of the wadi-fish' above, No. 365, nor with the Pr-Wdjt 'House of Edjo' below, No. 415. The writing  occurs, apart from here, only in one of the six occurrences in P. Wilbour (see my edition, Synopsis of Text A, under § 90) and in the title      'Prophet of Thoth of Pi-wadjoy' given to the late vizier Nesphashuti, Cairo 42232 = Legrain, Statues, III, 80. Besides the further references to the cult of Thoth in this town in Harris and P. Wilbour there is one on the walls of the temple at Esh-Shékh 'Ibádah, where the legend is    Gayet, L'exploration des ruines d'Antinoë (Ann. Mus. Guimet, XXVI), Pl. 13. The presence of the god there and the cult itself tend to link Pi-wadjoy with the Hermopolitan group of towns and to argue in favour of a position south of Speos Artemidos. **[381]**    G, Pr-nbt-Int 'Pi-neb-one', i.e.

Textual Note. 381<sup>a</sup>    doubtless meaningless and superfluous.

'House of the Lady of the Valley', rightly understood by Gauthier, II, 93f. and by Kees in Pauly-Wissowa, sv. Speos Artemidos, as referring to the rock-temple bearing the latter name (actually only in the corrupt forms Peos Artemidos, Itin. Anton.; Pois arietemitos, Not. Dign.) and now known as    Istabl Antar 'the Stable of Antar', near the mouth of a short valley immediately E. of the modern village of   Beni Hasan and some 5 km. S. of the famous M. H. tombs called by the name of that village; map and views, Garstang, Burial Customs, Pl. 2, pp. 200 f.; publications of scenes etc., Porter & Moss, IV, 163ff.; a smaller speos at the inner end of the valley, Ann. Serv. XXXIX, 709ff. The name as given in G is both unique and imperfectly written; Daressy (Bull. inst. fr. XII, 15) emended it into    Pr-nbt-Int 'House of the lady of Valley's Mouth' and supposed it to refer to a Hathor associated with the actual local goddess Pakhet. There was, indeed, a Hathor thus described, but her temple was situated a little S. of Tihna, over 30 km. further north, see below, No. 382 B. There is no reason to think that a goddess so distant would be mentioned at Speos Artemidos, nor could a defender of that opinion argue from the depiction, in the newly found speos, of Hathor of Nefruay, since Nefruay (above, No. 348) cannot have been more than 8-9 km. away. Still less likely is it that the present entry refers to the temple near Tihna, not to Speos Artemidos at all; to such a hypothesis there is not only the objection that 'In(t)' here would have to be emended into R-Int, but also the present entry is followed by the important town of     Hebnu' roughly midway between Speos Artemidos and Tihna. Clearly the reference in On. Am. is to Speos Artemidos and the epithet    'Lady of the Valley' must belong to the lioness-goddess    Pakhet' there worshipped.

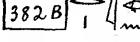
We shall see under No. 381A that she was usually described in a different way, but examples of the word 'Int' as applied to this particular valley are not wholly wanting; thus Pakhet is called  hr-ib 'Int' 'within the Valley', Champ., Not. descr. II, 324, and Sethos I speaks of  'Int st<sub>3</sub>(t)' 'the mysterious Valley', see below. [381A]  St? 'Set?' home of the goddess Pakhet on the stela Leyden V1 and elsewhere, especially at Speos Artemidos itself, Gauthier, V, 11. 91. The reading is very doubtful; the m. k. writings at Beni Hasan are  ed. Newberry, I, Pl. 24; simply  op. cit. I, Pl. 18;  as printed op. cit. II, p. 22 requires verification; Dyn. XVIII Leps., Denkm. Text, II, 108; Ann. Serv. XXXIX, 711ff. In Leps., Denkm. III, 138, h (with some modifications from Text, II, 110, n. 3) Sethos speaks of 'his mother     Pakhet the great, lady of set(?) in her temple of the mysterious Valley, she cleaves the mountain', and the last words seem to offer an interpretation, if not a reading (Sd.s-duo), of the problematic place-name. Concerning the goddess herself little need here be said: she appears in a Coffin Text (Rec. trav. XXVI, 229) and in the proper name , see Lacau in Mélanges Maspero, I, 929 ff.; her cult seems restricted to Speos Artemidos. The lady Nestnebasru is described as a prophetess of hers, Budge, Greenfield Papyrus, Pl. 1, cf. also Pl. 45, 66 with the remarkable variant writing  Ph(rt); in the Dyn. XIX tomb No. 26 at Thebes mention is made of one  Huy, who was a prophet of . For the identification with Sothis in the Karnak goddesses' list and for other information see Kees, s. v. Speos Artemidos in Pauly-Wissowa. As the Table shows, Chass., Edfou, VI, 44 treats the place-name  as one of the so-called autonomous districts. [382]  G, Habu 'Habu', in the Graeco-Roman nome-lists always regarded as the

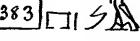
capital of  M3hd 'the Oryx nome', XVI th of Upper Egypt, probably to be located at  Kom el-Ahmar, on the right bank 8 km. upstream from the important modern town of El-Minyah (No. 382A); hereabouts Ball, 78. 111 places the Alabastron of Pliny (NH V, 11, 61) and the Ἀλαβάστρων τόπος of Stolemy (according to that ancient authority within the Oxyrhynchite nome), a point concerning which see above on No. 376; Brugsch (DG 1252) compared the Egyptian name to the Ibiu of Itin. Anton, which, as Gauthier (IV, 25) agrees, must have lain somewhere in this neighbourhood, to judge from the distances (Ball, 143); however, there are no Graeco-Roman monuments at or near Kom el-Ahmar to support Brugsch's contention, which, moreover, assumes a serious corruption of the name in the Latin author (the name is found also in the Ravenna geographer, Ibium [16], see Parthey's edition). As Brugsch (loc. cit.) already realized, the town must have been situated near  Zawiyet el-Amwāt (often called Zawiyet el-Meitin), 2 km. N. of Kom el-Ahmar, since the VI th Dyn. tomb of Niconkhipopi in the former place expresses the wish that its owner may have a good burial  'in Habu as one revered with Horus, prominent in Habu'; Varille, La tombe de Ni-ankh-pepi, Pl. 17. In Zawiyet el-Amwāt and Kom el-Ahmar are many tombs of the Old Kingdom and one of Dyn. XVIII-XIX, see Porter & Moss, IV, 134 ff.; so that here, at all events, was the necropolis of the town. Maspero's view (Proc. SBA XIII, 506 f.) that the remains of the ancient town itself lie buried under the modern El-Minyah would in any case be improbable on account of the distance (6 km.) between it and the more northerly of the two sites, and Varille (op. cit. pp. 30 ff.) rightly maintains that there is sufficient ground for believing that Kom

el-Ahmar marks the place of Pharaonic Hebnu. Here was found a lintel of Amenophis III (op. cit. fig. 11) presumably belonging to the temple of Horus of Hebnu, and scarabs mention the same king as beloved of that god. Horus of Hebnu is named in the nome-list of the restored temple of Sesostris I at Karnak as the representative deity of the XVIth nome, and he is found also in the tombs of Beni Hasan (ed. Newberry, I, pl. 4; p. 85) and fairly often later; a N. K. first prophet of his, Berlin 17021 (*Aeg. Inschr.* II, 60). Late writings of the nome-sign show him 'as a falcon on the back of the oryx' and so too he is described in the great Edfu nome-list, Rochem, *Edfou*, I, 341; further evidence displaying him as a victorious Horus triumphing over oryx or goat, see Junker, *Onuridegende*, 37f.

**382A**  El-Minyah, now written  El-Minjā, one of the largest towns of Upper Egypt, on the left bank near the Nile, Copt.

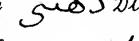
<sup>5</sup> TMOONE, TMWNE, Amélineau, 257f.; Munier in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte*, V, 241; Maspero & Wiet, I, 204ff.; Crum, 174, where the etymology of the name, applied to many different places, from MOONE 'land', 'come to port' is rejected. Here we are merely concerned to deny, together with all recent scholars, any connexion with the Mnct-Hufw 'Nursery of (King) Cheops' known from the inscriptions of Beni Hasan, see Gauthier, III, 36f.

**382B**  R-int 'R-ōnē', i.e. 'Valley's Mouth', Karnak goddesses' list, with cult of Hathor, and Leyden VI, mentioning an otherwise unknown 'Ithoth, Bull in R-ōnē'; clearly the site mentioned in the 'Fraser' tombs some 2 km. S. of Tihna on the right bank and doubtless in their near neighbourhood, see Porter & Moss, IV, 131. For the other desert valley of the same name at El-Hâb see above, No. 321A.

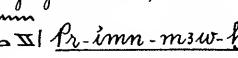
**383** 

Pr.-m<sup>3</sup>iw 'Pi-mui', not improbably the name of the striking fortress-

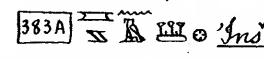
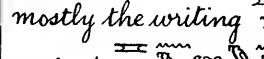
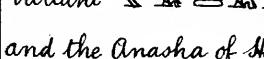
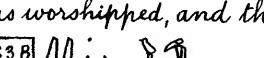
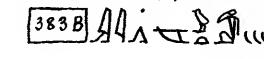
*Textual Note.* 383<sup>a</sup> Very vaguely and obscurely made in the hieratic text.

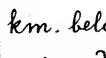
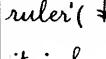
like bluff at  Tihna on the right bank, see the photograph Pl. 1 to the article *Ann. Serv.* VI, 141 ff.; the demotic for Tihna is T-tehne, corresponding to the Greek εν Τηνει τη] καὶ Ἀκρωτος του Μωχητου τοπον νομον δ' Επ-μοπολιτον Th. Reinach, *Papyrus grecs et démotiques*, p. 89; also in briefer forms like εν κω(μη) Τηνει του Μωχητου op. cit. p. 125, see also p. 60 and for the demotic, p. 146, l. 13 with p. 184, n. 16; the hieroglyphic form of T-tehne would be  t<sup>3</sup> dhnt 'the crag; lit. 'forehead', but it is uncertain whether this term, applied to the peak overlooking Sheles (*Sitz. Berlin* 1911, 1098) and to a rock at  El-Tibah, right bank, 75 km. downstream from Tihna (Griffith, *Rylants Papyri*, III, 40), was ever in Pharaonic times used as the name of this last; Griffith and others have thought that  t<sup>3</sup> thn wr-nhtw 'the crag great-of-Victories' which Picankhi captured (l. 24) referred to Tihna, but Spiegelberg (*ZÄS* LIII, 2) found some not quite certain evidence pointing rather to El-Tibah. In Coptic ΤΔΕΖΝΕ and ΤΕΖΝΕ are found as a place-name (Crum, 460), once with the Arabic rendering  Dihna, but there is nothing to indicate what locality was thereby meant. In any case, dhnt being an appellative would probably have required some addition to convert it into a fully-fledged proper name. The alternative Ἄξωπις which Lefebure found in an inscription at Tihna (*Ann. Serv.* VI, 149, No 2), and which, but with ς for χ, is used by Ptolemy and others (see C. Müller's note) is homonymous and probably identical<sup>1</sup> with the personal name owned by King  aker Akwpis, Akwpis of Dyn. XXIX; this, according to Sethe in *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1916, 118 ff., is a Persian word surviving in the Greek ακύπος and often used to mean 'postman', and could not have been the name of Tihna in Ramesside times.

<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough Ἄξωπις is found as a personal name at Tihna itself, CIG 4703c = Dittenberger, no. 94.

Consequently the earlier name remains to seek. The Pi-mui ('lion's house') of On. Am. has been rightly identified by Gauthier, II, 54.81, following Darressy, with the  Pr-imn-m3w-hnt 'Pi-Amün-mui-khant' of Harris, and the same place has recently emerged in P. Wilbour, there too in immediate proximity to the town of Anasha (see below, No. 383A), where the crocodile-god Suchus or Sebk-Rēr was worshipped. Now a stela at Tihna (Porter & Moss, IV, 131, top) shows Ramesses III accompanied by Amen-Rēr and Sebk-Rēr, and it seems likely that these were the deities of Pi-mui and Anasha respectively. Moreover, the Greek inscriptions discovered by Lefebvre at Tihna (see above) are often dedicated to Amün ( $\Delta\mu\nu\omega\nu$ ), once certainly coupled with  $\Sigma\delta\chi\sigma$  (No. 11), and some tombs dating from a few centuries earlier were found to belong to priests of Amün (Ann. Serv. XXVI, 32 ff.). The name in Harris and P. Wilbour can be rendered 'House of Amün lion-front', a designation not inappropriate to such a rocky eminence; Amün was the god of El-Kibah (see above) and also of Napata, where there is a most conspicuous peak. A more daring conjecture may here be put forward tentatively; it is, to say the least, a curious coincidence that the  $\tauότος$  in which the Reinach papyri stated Tj̄vis to be, namely  $\delta\ Mωχίτης$  (cf.  $\text{I} \text{G} \text{I} \text{G}$  Mωχίδι in the inscription CIG 4073c quoted in the footnote to p. 93\*), begins with the same letters as the element mui-khant in the older Egyptian name. Taking everything into consideration, there can be but little doubt that Pi-mui in On. Am. was the Egyptian name of Tihna. As regards other deities, Griffith (loc. cit.) is not justified in stating that Thoth, 'and not Ammon' was the god of Tj̄vis, but Spiegelberg, whose edition of the Loeb demotic papyri rightly gives Tihna as their provenance (p. ix), likewise speaks of Thoth as revered in

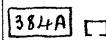
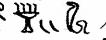
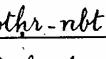
\* Or possibly ; P. Wilbour writes clearly   22, 4;   24, 16 (Text B).

that place; so far as I can see, Thoth occurs there only because Tj̄vis at that time lay in the Hermopolite nome; Suchus is also named in the papyri on account, as already stated, of the proximity of Anasha. Lastly, Bell has called my attention to an article entitled Tine, eine Hellenistisch-römische Festung in Mittelägypten by von Bissing and Kees, extract from Sitz. Bayer. Akad. 1923. Here the attempt was made to identify Tj̄vis with a fortress on the right bank sometimes called Tine or Matine almost opposite El-Minyah, a good 10 km. S. of Tihna. This hypothesis overlooks the agreement between the modern name Tihna and the demotic equivalent of Tj̄vis, as well as attaching far too little importance to the many inscriptions found at Tihna.  'Anasha', Harris, immediately following the last, as also in P. Wilbour; there is evidence in P. Wilbour that the god was sometimes called Sebk-Rēr and sometimes simply Sobk (Suchus), and my Commentary will show that numerous fields are spoken of as in the neighbourhood of a temple built by Ramesses IV at Anasha; the temple of Suchus was likewise used as a means of orientating adjacent holdings. Since the right bank here offers little scope for cultivation, the town must almost certainly have been on the left bank, possibly at about the level of Tihna. Gauthier, II, 126 mis-read the place-name in Harris, though not inexcusably, and had no further evidence to offer; P. Wilbour shows mostly the writing  'Tin'ashana'; but in §159 there is the variant  mediating between the above normal writing and the Anasha of Harris; the unpublished Ramesseum papyrus (Dyn. XIII) giving a hymn to Suchus mentions  'Iw-n-s' or  'Iw-n-s' as a place where he was worshipped, and thus decides the matter in favour of Anasha.  'Iw-n-s' or  'Iw-n-s'

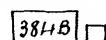
P. Wilbour, where the order of the paragraphs is again significant; not known elsewhere as a place-name and not registered in Gauthier. The papyrus writes the name in various ways, but owing to the extremely careless orthography of the manuscript, no preference can be given to one over the other; in transliterating above with -mrwt- (and vocalizing '-merwōt-') no more has been intended than to give a conventional representation in European script. The reference in P. Wilbour is everywhere to a 'House of Suchus, lord of Ty-merwōt'. Now it is perhaps no mere accident that at the  Gebel et-Ter, on the right bank, not more than 3.5 km. below Tihna, there exists a large O. K. rock tomb belonging to a 'Royal ruler' () named  'Imry 'Gymarye', Porter & Moss, IV, 127. Perhaps it is hence that the place-name Ty-merwōt—if rightly described as a place-name—was derived.

   G, Mn-cnk 'Menconkh';

Gauthier, III, 36 has no further reference; apart from our example known only from P. Wilbour, where no particular deity is named; however, the place possessed a cult-image of King Setnakhte and a 'Sun-shade' (Swt-rs) of Rē-Harakhti. Since numerous fields are orientated by reference to it, it probably lay on the left bank; as regards latitude, the position is shown by the Table to be fairly closely defined.

    ?   Pr-Hwthr-nbt-chwry 'Pr-Hathor-neb-Akhwey' or 'House of Hathor, lady of the Two Altars', P. Wilbour and the Karnak goddesses' list, on the right bank at  Es-dirriyah, where the rock chapel of this name, built by Menepthah, is still extant, Porter & Moss, IV, 126 ff. Variant writings, etc., Brugsch, Geographie, I, Pl. 42, with p. 229; views of earlier scholars, Gauthier, I, 154. Since the word chwry is only seldom followed by the determinative , perhaps the word is a mere appellative and the chapel may have lain

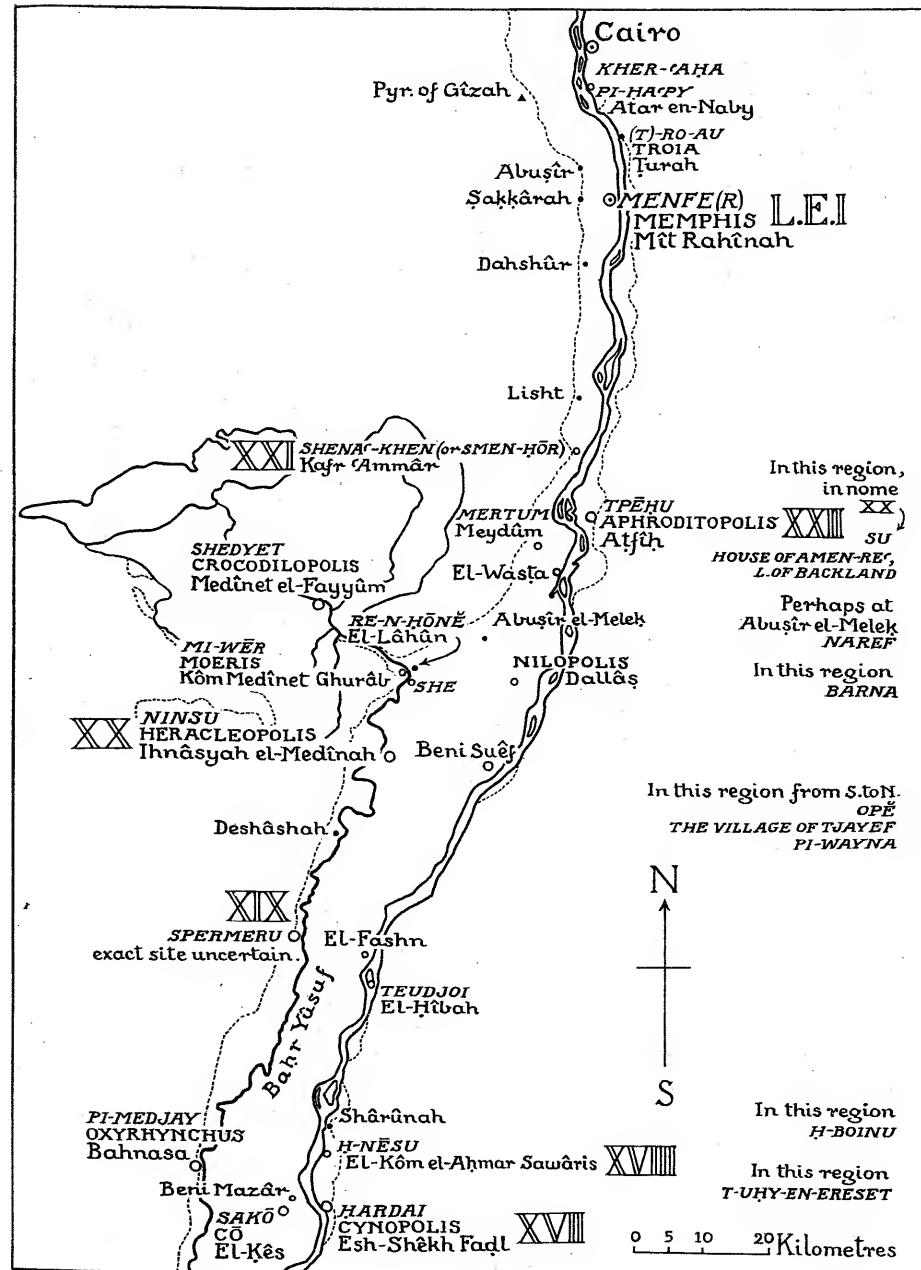
at some distance from any town or village.

         <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for a circle" data-bbox="7495 115 75

my mind, is the Ptolemaic reading of  as Mntw 'Month' vouched for in Manetho's Μενθεσουφις, see Möller, Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind, p. 7. All the associations of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> nome are with the right bank, and we need have no hesitation in locating H-Anky there, and the Table (Pl. 27) leaves no doubt that it lay to the south of Cynopolis.

<sup>a</sup> 385  G. Ar-dy 'Hardai', undoubtedly the Lk. Kuwwîr nôlis (Strabo, Ptolemy, etc.), translated Canum by Fliny, at or near الشيخ خالد Esh-Shekh Fa'dl, which is on the right bank nearly opposite the considerable town of Beni Mazâr, this being NE. of El-Kêz and 14 km. SE. of Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus). Principal literature: Kees, arts. Kynopolis and Kynopolites in Pauly-Wissowa; Gauthier, IV, 40.224 adheres to the now disproved view taken by Brugsch, DG 1259; full discussion in my P. Wilbour, Commentary. The problem is inseparable from that of  Sakô; No. 386 of On. Am.; Brugsch, finding that the dog-deity Anubis was worshipped both at Sakô and at Hardai, concluded that these were two names of one and the same town, Kasa (so he read in place of Sakô, op. cit. 863) being the secular, and Hardai the religious name. Both were located by him at El-Kêz (see above), which he had long since (Geographie, I, 226) identified with Kasa solely on account of the similarity of the names. We shall later find grounds for thinking that Sakô was actually situated at El-Kêz, but the identity with Hardai, made highly improbable by On. Am, this mentioning the two separately (see, however, Nos. 318-9), is definitely disproved by P. Wilbour, which names both, but always apart and in different connexions, and which, while assigning the god Anubis to Hardai (this place-name, it is true, in a very strange writing B17, 13; 19, 22),

Textual Note. 385<sup>a</sup> Not quite correctly rendered in Pl. 11A.

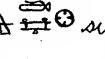


## SKETCH-MAP OF UPPER EGYPT

From El-Kêz to Cairo.

never does so to Sakō, the deities there being stated to be Bata and a particular form of Amun. It will be found that the attribution of Anubis as the deity of Sakō is not only of very late occurrence, but also rare, whereas Anubis occurs as the god of Hārdai frequently and from a comparatively early date; cf., besides P. Wilbour, the entry in Harris, 61, 8, 11, often misread, but quite indubitable; a prophet of Anubis, lord of Hārdai, is mentioned in the demotic P. Rylands IX, 13, 6 (Dyn. XXVI); Graeco-Roman examples, Dūm, Geogr. Inschr. I, 81, 17; P. Boulaq III, 9, 15 (Maspero's numbering; Brugsch, 8, 15); Lanzone, Pap. Lac Moeris Pl. 5, No. 22; P. Cairo 58018, see the Table, Pl. 27, last col. Thus Hārdai has a clear prior claim to be the Cynōn polis (vulgo Cynopolis) of the Greeks. As regards the geographical position, Strabo XVII, 1, 40, after alluding to Cynōn polis, its god Anubis, and its cult of dogs, goes on to speak of Oxyrhynchus (Bahnasa, see above, at the edge of the western desert) as ἐν τῇ περαιᾳ 'on the farther side' of the Nile, suggesting that Cynōn polis lay on the E. bank. The indications of Ptolemy point to a similar, though not quite identical, position, but contain a difficulty that does not appear to have been noted. After dealing with the Heracleopolite nome as on an island formed by the division of the river into two streams (Ball, 70, top, rightly says of the western branch that 'it corresponded largely in its course with the modern Bahr Yusuf') Ptolemy describes the Arsinoite and Aphroditopolite nomes to the west and the east of the island respectively, and then states that the two rivers forming the island joined again at latitude 28° 45'. Proceeding southwards, he next mentions the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes as both W. of the river, the former with its capital Oxyrhynchus at latitude 28° 50', i.e. N. of the point where the two branches join in a single stream again, but the latter with its

capital Kô at 28°40', i.e. S. of that point. At exactly the same latitude Ptolemy places Cynôñ polis, of which he says that it 'lies opposite' Cô 'on the island' (ἢ ἀντίκειται ἐν τῇ νήδῳ). Here 'the island' can hardly be other than the Heracleopolite island that has figured so largely in the preceding context, but that interpretation is contradicted by the already quoted statement that the rivers enclosing the island became one again at 28°45'. Griffith (Ryllands Papyri, III, 88, n. 2) and Kees (*loc. cit.*) both overlook the difficulty and cite Ptolemy as having said that Cynôñ polis was on an island; that Ptolemy may have intended this is suggested by his next words stating that Acoris (above, No. 383) was E. of the river (ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ), for these words would be superfluous but for the contrast with ἐν τῇ νήδῳ. It would certainly suit the data of P. Wilbour very well if Hardai (= Cynôñ polis) was actually situated on an island; this might explain why, though Hardai is frequently mentioned as an administrative centre, i.e. virtually a nome-capital, no fields are named as near it, in marked contrast to Sakô, which is constantly referred to in the phrases describing the position of plots of land. Thus far we have merely vindicated the statement at the beginning of this discussion that Hardai was 'at or near' a certain place on the E. bank, without as yet identifying that place with Esh-Shêkh Fadl. No inscribed monuments locating either Hardai or Sakô have been discovered, and indeed Porter & Moss records only an uninscribed royal statue of Roman date from Esh-Shêkh Fadl (IV, 126) and nothing at all from El-Kes. However, Wilkinson (Modern Egypt and Thebes, II, 31) speaks of the former place (under the name Hamâtha) as 'one of the principal repositories of dog-mummies' and the 1:50,000 map of the Egyptian Survey Department marks the desert behind the same place as 'Cynopolis cemetery', presumably

alluding to the presence of mummified dogs there. The difference of latitude between El-Kēs and Esh-Schekh Tadl is only 1°, agreeing closely with the indications of Ptolemy for Cō and Cynōn polis, and though the actual figures in the ancient geographer are not accurate (see Ball, 111), yet they are as nearly so as could be expected. We shall later find reasons for equating Cō with the Egyptian Sakō and accordingly with El-Kēs. On. Am. names Hardai before Sakō, whereas actually El-Kēs is slightly further upstream than Esh-Schekh Tadl; this slight discrepancy need not trouble us, the two places being on different sides of the Nile; cf. the similar disagreement with the physical facts as regards Tūkh and Kift, above, Nos. 340-1. Further evidence that Hardai, if not actually on the E. bank, was at all events very near it, may be derived from the name of the town. Late writings like  suggest as the meaning 'Horus is here' (dy), but this sense is perhaps secondary, the determinative  not occurring until Graeco-Roman times. Whatever the exact etymology, the god Horus is obviously a constituent of the place-name, and the remarks on No. 384B above have shown that the eastern nome at this level was that of a falcon-god (nome XVIII of Upper Egypt). The very various ways in which the sign for that nome is written have a parallel in the various writings of Hardai: whereas in Graeco-Roman times we usually find the simple falcon, this guaranteeing the reading hr, Harris 61, & 11 has  hr, On. Am.  Text A of P. Wilbour turns the wings into a claw or finger ( ) and Text B has an unaccountable further perversion   It seems legitimate to suppose that at some period Hardai belonged to the XVIIIth nome, and indeed, since all the associations of the XVIIth Dog nome  are with the W. bank (cf. Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl. 25, l. 50), it is strange that the town

which the Greeks called Cynōn polis (hence the Cynopolite nome of Pliny and Ptolemy) should be found where it is. Perhaps the capital of the nome, and with it the nome's characteristic god, were shifted several times in the course of history. In the nome-list of the Karnak temple of Sesostris I the deity of the nome is given as   (so Černý; Lacau's copy shows a lacuna after  with the name of an unknown town — it is certainly not Hrw). In Dyn. XX, as we have noted, Hardai was an important administrative centre, and possibly it was early in the New Kingdom that the cult of Anubis was transferred thither, as later it was transferred thence to Sakō (Cō), the capital of the nome in Ptolemy's time. It remains only to note that P. Brit. Mus. 10052, 19, 18 (feet, Tomb-Robberies, p. 152 and Pl. 31) speaks of the destruction of the town by Penhasi in the reign of Ramesses XI, though it must subsequently have recovered its prestige; that the great Edfu nome-list (Rochem, I, 342) very astonishingly gives  hr-nsw 'H.-nēsu' (below, No. 387A) as capital of the XVIIth nome; and that 'wine of Hardai' is item No. 570 of On. Am.

386    G, ss-k; 'Sakō,' lit. 'Back of the Bull,' undoubtedly the Kāw of Ptolemy, and not improbably the modern جبل El-Kēs, 2 km. SW. of Beni Mayār, and 6 km. as the crow flies from Esh-Schekh Tadl on the opposite (E.) side of the river; Gauthier, V, 193 adheres to Brugsch's reading Kasa (K3.s3), which Spiegelberg (ZÄS XLIV, 98 ff.) mistakenly sought to justify by reference to Lacau's category of 'metathèses appartenantes'; this view, the sole raison d'être of which was to justify the identification with the Arabic name El-Kēs, has been accepted by all subsequent students, so too Kees, Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Ko. The theory of a metathesis is disproved by the facts (1) that the vast majority of writings, including all the earlier ones and all written in hieratic, unambiguously

give S<sub>3</sub>-k<sub>3</sub> in that order; (2) that the second element k<sub>3</sub> is usually determined with the bull, and obviously means 'bull', whence the Greek Κῶ representing Egyptian as abbreviation of the place-name S<sub>3</sub>-k<sub>3</sub>; (3) S<sub>3</sub>-k<sub>3</sub>, literally translated, means 'Bull's back', which makes good sense, while 'Back's bull' (K<sub>3</sub>-S<sub>3</sub>) is nonsense. If Graeco-Roman inscriptions occasionally — I can cite only Dūm., geogr. Inschr. I, 96, 23 — write the position of here is no indication of metathesis, but only an imitation of the mode of writing employed for the Bull-nomes of the Delta. In Proc. SBA XXVII, 185f. I showed that the Edinburgh ostraca with a poem on the chariot speaks of a god B<sub>3</sub>t, nb S<sub>3</sub>-k<sub>3</sub> 'Bata, lord of Sakō', and identified this otherwise unknown local deity with the hero of the well-known Tale of the Two Brothers. Spiegelberg, in the afore-mentioned article, regarded both Bata and Anubis as gods of the same town, which he took to be Cynopolis, adding some valuable references, the most important of which was that in Leyden V1 (Dyn. XIX) to the 'Bull in Sakō'. Recently, P. Wilbour has provided important new evidence. Not only are references there given to the 'House of Bata, lord of Sakō' and to the chapel of Amūn, Foreteller of Victories, mentioned also on the Leyden stela, but further there are various instances of personal names compounded with the name of the god Bata, e. g. Bataemhab, Batahotpe. Negatively, it is of importance that no reference is made in the papyrus to Anubis in connexion with Sakō, and positively, there is a corroboration of the fact suggested already by Leyden V1, that the cult at Sakō was that of a bull, not of a dog. The Tale of the Two Brothers speaks (14, 5) of Bata as having been transformed into a great bull, 'which was of every beautiful colour', and it must clearly be in reminiscence thereof that the prophet

of Bata, in P. Wilbour, was named Kanūfe, i.e. 'Beautiful Bull'. It may be a mere coincidence that in one instance (A 99, 11) this personal name is abbreviated to with the town-determinative, as though Sakō were already sometimes styled Kῶ, Cō in accordance with Ptolemy's designation of the metropolis of the Cynopolite nome. The Greek papyri contain what looks like a derivative, though whether it really is so involves topographical problems which must be left to the papyrologists; Bell writes, 'Kwítor or τὸν Kwítor (P. Hib. 33, 8, 16; 66, 7; 78, 14; 88, 5; 96, 3, 17; 106, 4; 117, 2; BGU III, 958 a; SB 5680, 8) is always taken as a toparchy of the Heracleopolite nome. I do not think it is actually called a toparchy, certainly not a nome, though in P. Hib. 78 we get the Oxyrhynchite nome and τὸν Kwítor contrasted'. That Cō was at some time or other the chief town of the Cynopolite nome seems indicated by the transference of Anubis thither; for this Brugsch (DG 863) quoted from Denderah Inpu nb S<sub>3</sub>-k<sub>3</sub> 'Anubis, lord of Sakō', Dūm., geogr. Inschr. I, 81, 17 (Roman period); similarly from Edfu, reign of Ptolemy V, op. cit. I, 86, 17 = Chass., Edfou, VI, 231. The facts (1) that Anubis late became the god of Sakō, (2) that elsewhere Sakō is mentioned as though it were the metropolis of the Dog nome (Denderah, Dūm., op. cit. I, 96, 23; Kôm Ombo, ed. de Morgan, (II), No. 892, Vespasian), and (3) that the name Sakō survived in abbreviated form in the Cō of Ptolemy, who indicates its position relative to Oxyrhynchus and Cynōn polis sufficiently clearly (see on No. 385) can now be combined with the datum of the Rylands bishops' list so as to locate Sakō at El-Kēs; this Rylands list (Munier, Recueil, 50) gives ΚΥΝΩ ΔΝΩ: BAKI KAICI: مدینت القيس 'Upper Cynōn polis' = the town of Kaisi = Medinet el-Kēs! Thus the

identification advocated by Brugsch has been reached by a somewhat different chain of reasoning, see too for another note on this topic Steinendorff, Die ägypt. Gau in Abh. Sächs. Ges. Wiss. 1909, 865, n. 2. Observe that 'Upper Cynōn polis' is not to be taken as contrasted with the earlier Cynōn polis at Hardai, but owes the epithet ΔNW to a contrast with the ΚΟΥΝΩ ΚΑΤΩ 'Lower Cynōn polis' in the Delta (Munier, op. cit. 48), which was situated at Bana Abu Sir, 5.5 km. S. of Samannūd, see below under No. 412. Nor does it seem possible to connect the name of Sakō in any way with the modern name El-Kēs. Crum quoted to me a place-name ψικω (Grohmann, Cat. arab. Pap. Cairo, III, No. 167) which might easily have been the equivalent of  $\ddot{\sigma} \ddot{\nu} \ddot{\kappa} \ddot{\omega}$  preceded by the definite article, but this appears to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Ekhmīm. Ball, 111 accepts the identity of Cō with El-Kēs and of Cynopolis with Esh-Shékh Faḍl, mainly no doubt on the strength of Ptolemy's measurements; any hesitation that still may be felt is justified only by the complete lack of inscriptional confirmation from either of these two sites.

Pr.-Ymn-sr-nbtwnty m [S3-k3] 'The House of Amān Foreteller of Victories which is in Sakō', P. Wilbour, A, § 161 and elsewhere in the same papyrus; also in Leyden V1. Name of a chapel in Sakō, for which see No. 386.

'Iry-st(?)' 'The Village of Breset(?)', unknown elsewhere; Gauthier, I, 204 records some baseless conjectures.

'A-nēsu', i.e. 'King's Mansion', P. Wilbour B2, 6; 24, 24, not in the consecutive series; proved from inscriptions on the spot to be identical with الْكُوْنَ الْأَحْمَرَ Sawāris, right bank,

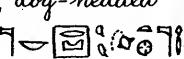
Textual Notes. 387<sup>a</sup> Clearly  $\ddot{\sigma}$ , not  $\ddot{\alpha}$ .   <sup>b</sup>Rather long, but doubtless intended for  $\sim$ , not  $=$  or  $\sim$ .

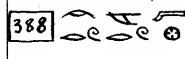
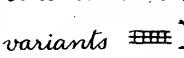
5 km. S. of Shārūnah, see Kees, ZÄS LVIII, 99; see too Porter & Moss, IV, 125f.; Gauthier, IV, 86, this last with full account of earlier discussions. The place-name is found in a late tomb at El-Kôm el Ahmar which mentions the Osiris and Isis of  $\ddot{\sigma} \ddot{\nu} \ddot{\kappa} \ddot{\omega}$  Hwt-nsw, see Rec. trav. XVI, 44 = Proc. SBA XXI, first plate after p. 32; and also on a fragment of a temple built by Ptolemy I, Ann. Serv. IX, 4. However, in the immediate neighbourhood Grenfell and Hunt found in situ a stela referring to its owner as  $\ddot{\sigma} \ddot{\nu} \ddot{\kappa} \ddot{\omega} \ddot{\sigma} \ddot{\nu} \ddot{\kappa} \ddot{\omega} \ddot{\sigma} \ddot{\nu} \ddot{\kappa} \ddot{\omega}$  im-hw hr Inpu nb Hwt-binw 'honoured by Anubis, lord of H-boinu', E. E. T. Archaeological Report 1902-3, p. 4 and Frontispiece. Since the great Edfu nome-list (see the Table) gives this H-boinu (below, No. 387B) as metropolis of the XVIIIth Falcon nome while H-nēsu is there given as metropolis of the XVIIth Dog nome, it is to be presumed that H-boinu lay rather further north. Some (see Gauthier) have sought to identify H-nēsu with Sakō, but P. Wilbour, mentioning Sakō, Hardai and H-nēsu separately, shows them to have been distinct towns, though each at one time or another was the principal town of the Dog nome. We can take it as certain that Sakō became the metropolis only at a very late period, while Hardai occupied that position in Dyn. XX and perhaps down to Dyn. XXVI. Since Anubis was the god of Hardai, it is not entirely impossible that this was the original metropolis of the Dog nome, but, as we saw under No. 385, the name of Hardai points rather to its earlier connexion with the Falcon nome (XVIII). The period of H-nēsu's ascendancy in the Dog nome is uncertain, the more so since the restored temple of desosiris I at Karnak gives it under the heading of the XVIIIth nome, not under that of the XVIIth; so too Chass., Edfou, VI, 231. How towns on the east side of the river ever came to be the capitals of the Dog nome, which mainly,

at all events, lay on the west side, remains an unsolved riddle. The Edfu nome-list, in giving H-n̄esu, written , as metropolis of that nome, indicates Osiris as its god, in agreement with the late tomb mentioned above. But P. Wilbour speaks only of 'Horus, lord of H-n̄esu'. Horus is also mentioned as the god of the town three times (ll. 1, 12, 14) on the Turin statue of Haremhab (Trans. SBA III, 486 ff.), on a late sarcophagus Lepsi, Denkm. III, 277, a, and implicitly in the Myth of Horus at Edfu, Chass., VI, 70, 3, see JEA XXIX, 13. In P. Rylands IX, 13, 6 Griffith was at a loss to understand the sentence that he rendered 'Four stipends is that which is given to the prophet of Hor, lord of Hn̄es, and the prophet of Anāp, lord of Hartai', since Horus is nowhere else mentioned as the god of Hn̄es (Heracleopolis Magna, below, No. 389); is it not possible that the Hn̄es here meant, though written exactly like the name of Heracleopolis Magna, was H-n̄esu, the name of which must have been very similarly pronounced?

 Hwt-binu 'H-boinu', in the great Edfu nome-list regarded as the capital of the Falcon nome (XVIII), Gauthier, IV, 66; doubtless on the right bank not far from ḥȝr, i.e. Shârûnah. Mention has been made under No. 387A of the Old Kingdom stela naming 'Anubis, lord of H-boinu' found at El-Kôm el-Ahmar Sawâris, which, however, has better claims, on account of the remains of the Ptolemaic temple there, to be      H-nêsu; Griffith, in a footnote of the article by Grenfell and Hunt, plausibly suggested that H-boinu was to be looked for near Shârûnah. H-boinu is mentioned on the stela of Piankhi (l. 4) as the first of four towns belonging to the   spwt i**z**btt 'eastern nomes' which opened their gates to the marauding chieftain Tefnakhte: the enumeration is as follows:

N. of Shârûnah (Gauthier, VI, 7); (3) H-nêsu (see above) and (4)    nb.-tp.-ihw 'Pi-neb-tpéhu, i.e. Atfih, 79 km. N of El-Hibah; the south-north order is thus infringed by H-nêsu, just as in the corresponding series of western towns earlier in the same line the north-south order may possibly be infringed by the placing of P-emdje, i.e. Oxyrhynchus, in front of sh;ns, the Coptic TAKINDU, if, as Daressy supposes Ann. Serv. XVIII, 26, this name is preserved in a hôd named  Diknâsh near the village of Mazûrah, nearly due west of Bebâ (so too earlier Amélineau, 121); the Piankhi passage is at all events not unfavourable to Griffith's conjecture. Another scrap of evidence, though of a negative kind, is added by P. Wilbour, from which H-boinu is absent, this papyrus having even in the more comprehensive Text B no identifiable place-name on the right bank between H-nêsu and Atfih. — To conclude the above discussions of the places and deities of the XVIIth and XVIIIth nomes in their mutual relations, the following evidence will show how inextricably their cults were interwoven in Graeco-Roman times. (1) Brugsch, Thes. 621, series of deities from Denderah: [XVIIth Dog nome (Cynopolite)], falcon-headed   'Horus-Anubis, lord of Dog-town'; [XVIIIth Falcon nome], dog-headed   'Anubis, lord of Falcon-town', cf. Chass., Edfou, VI, 231, which likewise has Anubis for both nomes, but gives Sakhō for his dwelling-place in XVII, and first  and then in the accompanying legend  H-nêsu in XVIII; in the Denderah scenes Hardai was possibly meant for XVII, on account of  Horus not being known to have penetrated as far as Sakhō, but in that case Hardai cannot also have been intended for XVIII. (2) op. cit. 623, likewise from Denderah: [XVII], dog-headed   Anubis, lord of [Hardai?], see comment on (1); [XVIII], dog-headed god,

inscription lost. (3) op. cit. 619, again from Denderah: [XVII], dog-headed  'Anubis, lord of Sakō'; [XVIII], dog-headed  'Anubis, lord of H-redu, the great god'; for H-redu 'Mansion of the corporal fluids' (of Osiris), see Gauthier, IV, 108f., explained as name of a temple; Kees (ZÄS LVIII, 96) rightly regards Anubis as here an intruder from the Cynopolite nome, and quotes various late passages showing (a) that he was supposed to have embalmed and wrapped Osiris in H-redu of the XVIIIth nome, and (b) that he was there regarded as a form of Horus; the entry for the XVIIIth nome in the great Edfu list is as significant as any, reading 'a Horus is there, Anubis by name, tending the divine fluids in the god's booth (sh-ntr)'; it looks as though H-redu may have been an alternative name of H-boinu, which has just been mentioned in the same inscription. (4) Mar., Dend. IV, 41 = Nüm, geogr. Inschr. I, 81, like (3) above, except that for H-redu  is written.

388  G, Spemenu 'Spemenu', first mentioned in Ramesside times, and from then onwards evidently the most important town in the region given by earlier and later nome-lists as the XIXth nome , with the Ptolemaic variants  and the like, see Brugsch, DG 275ff., 1186ff.; Gauthier, V, 28f., 31.<sup>1</sup> The deity of both town and nome was Seth, whose cult there, named in Harris, in the Adoption papyrus, JEA XXVI, 23, and in Schott, Urk. VI, 15, 19, is prominently mentioned also in P. Wilbour, where a temple of his spouse Nephthys also occurs, together with a subsidiary shrine of 'Seth, lord of Wealth and Might'; see in my Commentary, Pt. I, ch. 1, 55 (see too Synopsis of Text A, under §42). Reason is there given (1) for refusing to identify Spemenu

Textual Note. <sup>388a</sup> Doubtless a word-divider, see note a on no. 295.

<sup>1</sup> Gauthier's entry under  met (III, 63) is a typical example of ill-digested material, and has misled Fairman JEA XXI, 31 into rendering 'the nome of mrt' instead of 'Spemenu'.

with  'P-emdjé', Oxyrhynchus = Wuif, Bahnasa, 14 km. NW. of Beni Mažār at the desert edge, and (2) for placing it a good deal farther north than that town, which perhaps did not give its name to the nome until Dyn. XXVI, see the Adoption of Nitocris, l. 18 (ZÄS XXXV, 18). So far as the Table is concerned, any site between Sakō (El-Kes) and Ninsu (Ihnasyah) would be possible; the name Spemenu means 'near to the desert' and implies a position close to the western desert; also the mention of the 'water of Spemenu' in the Myth of Horus at Edfu (Chass., VI, 118) suggests the Bahr Yūsuf, which here runs along the desert edge. Daressy's suggestion of Deshāshah is perhaps a good deal too far north. Since the name of the god of Spemenu is Seth, like that of the god of the nome, it might be thought that Spemenu was the original metropolis; however, the reconstructed temple of Sesostris I at Karnak suggests rather that this may have been  Unu, a town of which nothing is known except that Seth was worshipped there, Gauthier, I, 198; P. Ch. Beatty IX, vs. Bq, 2; Schott, Urk. VI, 15, 18, as well as his spouse Nephthys, for whom see P. Ch. Beatty IX, vs. Bq, 13 as well as Lanzone, Giz. Pl. 342, which shows , not Unu as the author supposed, p. 1138. In conclusion, it may be recalled that the author of the great Edfu nome-list, though he has given Spemenu as the capital of the nome, and 'the noble image on the back of the oryx' as its god, then proceeds to inform us, perhaps more piously than truthfully, that there was no priest or priestess there to perform the rites, that the sacred boat had perished in the waters, and so forth.

From here onwards many of the places in the Table are known only from P. Wilbour and were often doubtless of less importance than towns mentioned in other parts of the Table. On the way in which the data of that papyrus are to be

interpreted see above in the printed text or, at greater length, in my separately published commentary thereupon. Of the next seven places (No. 388A-G) all except No. 388C occur in sequence in section II of P. Wilbour, there succeeding Spermeru (No. 388 above). Since No. 388F will be shown to name a piece of water belonging to the XIX<sup>th</sup> nome of Seth, it may be concluded with relative certainty that, with the exception of the said No. 388C, all these places are entered in the Table in their right order and position preceding Ninsu (Heracleopolis, No. 389), the metropolis of the next nome (XX) further north.

388A 'Spt 'Opē', P. Wilbour only, with a temple or chapel of Amūn 'sn(t) t' 'Founder of the Earth'. 388B

I3-whyt-I3y-f 'The Village of Ijayef', with a temple of Amūn Ijayef, P. Wilbour in both sections II and III. 388C

'Sharopē', P. Wilbour only, with a temple of Amūn, mentioned at the end of the consecutive series of provincial shrines in section III, but rather doubtfully belonging to that series, since it is separated there from our No. 388B by a paragraph-heading (§172) of a different kind. Section III of the Wilbour mentions many fields in the neighbourhood of Sharopē, and Text B twice brings the place into connexion with Anubis of Hardai, 8.13, 16; 19, 21. For this reason it seems possible that Sharopē was further south than Spermeru, and conceivably even on the right bank. Suchus also had some worship in this place, A.46, 7.

388D

cwt-p3-ntr 'The Houses of the god', P. Wilbour only, with cult of Amūn 'of the Island'. Position of this and the next three items, see the remarks introducing Nos. 388A-G. 388E

Pi-Wyn 'Pi-Wayna', P. Wilbour only, with cult of Seth. 388F

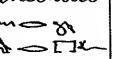
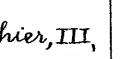
B-sqr-n-cnyr 'The Keep of Onayna', P. Wilbour

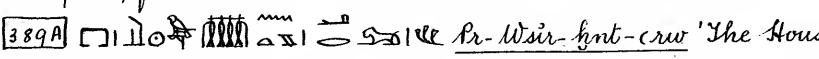
Textual Note. 388F <sup>a-b</sup> The restoration is certain.

only, with a sunshade of Reś-Harakhti.

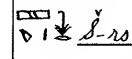
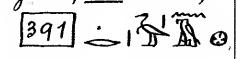
388G Sm[y]  
'Jemy', P. Wilbour, with a temple of Toēris. Though the signs immediately preceding this place-name are in lacuna, there can be no doubt that it is the name of the piece of water (canal?) regularly mentioned in the Graeco-Roman lists as belonging to, and characteristic of, the XIX<sup>th</sup> nome of Seth; see, besides, the great Edfu nome-list, Chass., Edfu, IV, 189 (LXXIV); Düüm, Geogr. Inschr. III, 95. See also Gauthier, VI, 57, but Brugach's clever guess that the of the Myth of Horus at Edfu is identical (cf. the stem perhaps requires further substantiation, though accepted by Fairman, JEA XXI, 33. For the topographical inference to be drawn from this entry in P. Wilbour see the remarks just before No. 388A.

389 G,  
Nn-nsw 'Ninsu', Assyrian Hininsi, Hebrew D3T, Greek Harpakheous nolis (Strabo, Ptolemy, etc.), Latin Herculis (Pliny), Coptic <sup>58</sup> ZNHC, Arabic وَلِيَاد Ahnās and modern دِيَالِي دَسْلِيَاد Ihsāsyah el-Medinah, left bank, just to the E. of the Bahr Yūnūf, Gauthier, III, 93; the element ni-, -s, -t prefixed to the Assyrian, Coptic and Arabic forms respectively is due to Aut- 'Mansion of' prefixed in later times, Gauthier, IV, 83; etymology explained by Griffith, Rylands Papyri, III, p. 220, n. 14, see too Wb. II, 272, 4 f. The Arabic and Coptic equivalents, Maspero & Wiet, I, 28; Munier in Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 243. The ancient remains, Porter & Moss, IV, 118 ff. This important town was capital of the XX<sup>th</sup> nome nrt hntt, that called 'Pomegranate tree, Upper'; for nrt 'pomegranate' see Newberry, ZAS L, 78 f.; disputed by Sethe, Urgeschichte, p. 49, n. 2, probably wrongly; see too Wb. II, 208, 14 f. The principal deity was the ram-headed hr-s.f 'Harshef', with later variants like hr-sfy, showing that the earlier meaning of the name 'He who is upon his lake' had been forgotten or had become

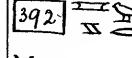
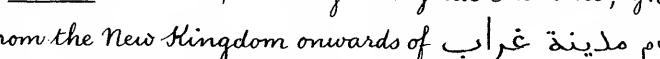
unpopular; he is the Greek Ἀρσαφής, whom Plutarch (*De Iside*, 34) identifies with Dionysos, son of Zeus and Isis, explaining his name to imply τὸ ἀνδρεῖον 'virility', 'courage'; this doubtless alludes to the quality expressed in the Egyptian word *šfyt*, which, however, refers to ram-like rather than human power. Literature, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Arsaphes; Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, 154 f.; Brugsch, *Religion*, 303 ff.; above all Kees, ZÄS LXV, 65 ff. Arsaphes was very closely identified with the Osiris revered at a place called  *Nrr-f* or  *N-rr-f* 'Naref' with many variants, see Gauthier, III, 66 f, and for the etymology Blackman, JEA III, 205, n. 4, and not only is this name definitely associated with Heracleopolis in late texts, e.g. Brugsch, *Thea* 610, ll. 108-9 = Chass, *Sépou*, VI, 223, but it is also found connected with the name of Osiris at Heracleopolis itself, Petrie, *Eh-naoya*, Pl. 17. However, Schäfer is said to have discovered from coffins and tables of offerings unearthed at  'Abusir el-Melek' that the necropolis of this name was situated there, Schäfer, *Vorgesch. Gräberfeld*, p. 2 and so too Wb. I, 11, 16; the evidence not having been published, independent judgement is impossible, but it is at least strange that Abusir el-Melek, the old  *3bdw* *Mhw* 'Lower Egyptian Abydos', should be the site of a place so intimately connected with Heracleopolis, from which it is distant 22 km. to the north-east.

389A  'The House of Osiris Khant-Aru', P. Wilbour only, restored with certainty from A 19, 37 as the lost heading of § 11, see the Commentary (Synopsis of Text A) *ad loc.* The position following the paragraphs dealing with Heracleopolis makes it clear that the temple was near that city, if not actually in it.

390  'She', apparently the name given to a town adjoining or

near Mi-wēr (Kôm Medinet Ghurâb, No. 392), possibly a shortening of  *S-rs* 'Southern She' (for this term also exceptionally as name of a nome, see below, No. 393 *ad fin.*) The name 'She' means 'the Lake' and doubtless was sometimes used as a designation of the whole Fayyûm province. But not only the occurrence in On. Am., but also much other evidence, makes it certain that She was sometimes the designation of a particular town. The exceedingly difficult problems connected therewith are fully discussed in my Commentary upon P. Wilbour (Pt. I, ch. 1, § 5), and the complex arguments cannot be repeated here. The compiler of P. Wilbour seems to have had serious difficulties in arranging the order of the Fayyûm towns - difficulties of the same kind as those experienced in connexion with the towns of the Delta in On. Am. As regards She, it is most strange that this name should occur in paragraph-headings of P. Wilbour both before and after Barna, i.e. the Robana, No. 391, of On. Am.; A, § 24 mentions a cult of Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, in She and § 26 a Sunshade of Re-Harakhti in the same place. In a very brief mention of the town, Gauthier, V, 113 repeats a wrong reference given by Brugsch, ZÄS XXX, 71; that reference should be Petrie, *Kahun*, Pl. 19. 391 

G, *Rbn* 'Robana', Gauthier, III, 116, where previous suggestions are recorded; doubtless identical with the  *Brn* 'Barna' of P. Wilbour, where there was a  *pr Psdt* 'House of the Divine Banead'; which of the two writings is the correct one is uncertain.

392  'Mi-wēr', literally 'the great channel', lk. Môîpis, name from the New Kingdom onwards of  'Bahr Yusuf' where it begins to turn north-westwards to enter the oasis of the Fayyûm. Full discussion

On. Am. Nos. 392A R-n-hn(t); 392B Sdyt.

in my article SEA XXIX, 37 ff. and in my commentary on P. Wilbour. Lauthier, III, 50, following Brugsch, has realized that Mi-wēr, though its name refers to a piece of water (he renders le grand lac) is the designation of a town, but has failed to recognize that this town is Kôm Medinet Ghurâb, where many monuments have been found (Porter & Moss, IV, 112 ff.), a number of them naming Mi-wēr. For the near neighbourhood of She, see on No. 390. P. Wilbour, A, 534 has the heading 'The Landing-place of Pharaoh in Mi-wēr,' a name exactly equivalent to the Greek Ττρολεμαῖς 'Oppos, the name of the important town on the Bahr Yusuf in this immediate neighbourhood. The god of Mi-wēr was Suchus, see P. Cairo 58018, 2, 16, in the last column of my Table.

R-n-hnft) 'Re-n-hōnē'; P. Wilbour, older writings  
etc., Copt. Λιζωνε, Λεζωνι (Crum, 690), the  
modern El-Lāhūn, now name of a village of some size E.  
of the Bahr Yūsuf and facing Kôm Medînet Lghurâb (see on No. 392)  
on the left bank; references, see Gauthier, III, 124 f.; antiquities, Porter  
& Moss, IV, 104 ff.; discussed also SEA XXIX, 39 ff., where it is shown  
that the name signifies 'Mouth of the Lake', not 'Mouth of the Canal'  
as hitherto believed. Since the determinative ☰ is never added in  
the ancient writings, perhaps it was originally the name of the entire  
east bank of the Bahr Yūsuf from the modern place called El-  
Lāhūn as far as Hawwârah, and the chapel of suchus the Shedite  
named P. Wilbour, A, § 20 may accordingly have been anywhere in this  
region. The Table indicates the strange relative positions given to this  
and the neighbouring places in P. Wilbour; see above on No. 390.

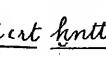
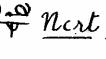
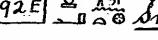
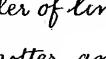
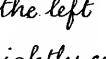
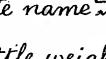
[392B] ⇒ Η θεῖτις 'shed yet', γκ. Κροκοδεῖλων πόλις (from Herodotus on) or Ἀρσινοίτῶν πόλις (Ἀρσινόη Strabo XVII, 1, 38), the modern مدينه العيون

On. Am. Nos. 392 C Sw; 392 D Pr-3mn-Rc-nb-nawt-i3ury-m-phw.

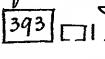
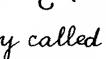
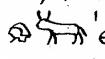
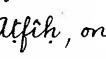
Medinet el-Fayyām, the capital of the Fayyām province, Gauthier, V, 150; monuments, Porter & Moss, IV, 98 f., to which must now be added Ann. Serv. XXXVII, 85 ff. The evidence for the localization is discussed in my commentary on P. Wilbour. Mentioned already Pyr. 41b; the equivalent                                           <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for 'house'" data-bbox="850 17290 910

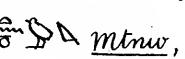
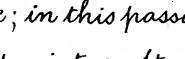
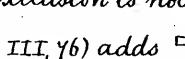
~~III~~ 10 sw 'Sw', Harris and probably (though not certainly) P. Wilbour, reputed birth-place of Seth and often from Dyn. XII onward mentioned as a site of his worship. Proved by the inscription of Shoshenk I, Rec. trav. XXXI, 33 ff. = Mélanges Maspero, I, 817 ff. to be in the Heracleopolite nome, but there is no evidence of the exact site. The reading is undoubtedly sw, not ssw or sww, cf. the writing of the word ~~III~~ 10 sw 'season', 'day', Copt. CHY, cov.-All essential particulars, Sethe, Dram. Texte, p. 25, but for further references see Gauthier, V, 61, to which add Schott, Urk. VI, 15, 18.

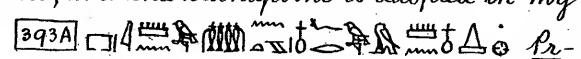
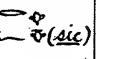
392 D  Pr-Imn-Rc-nb-nswt-tawy-m-  
nhw 'The House of Amen-Re, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, in the Back-  
land', Harris and P. Wilbour only, in the former immediately preceding

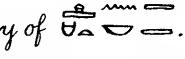
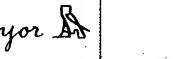
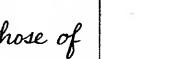
Spēhu (Atfīh) and in the latter near or actually at the close of the list of the minor temples in Section I. Presumably 'the Back-land' means the extreme northern portion of the XXth nome,  Nert hmt, that of which Heracleopolis was the capital, unless it refers to  Nert phwt the nome of the 'Na-cr-tree, lower part' (XXI), in the name of which the stem ph 'hinder', 'lower' is contained. Gauthier, II, 55 records the temple as in the Tayyām, which is unlikely. 392 E  Smen-hn 'Shenac-khen', in the Table only in Col. XII, where it is given as metropolis of the XXIst nome, for which see No. 392 D. Since in the same list the priest is named  'Modeller of limbs', a clear allusion to Khnum, the god of the nome, as potter, and since the same title is found (Petrie, Heliopolis, Kafir Ammar and Shurafa, Pls. 29, 31) on the monuments of two late personages, one of them named Khnememhē, at, loc.  Kafir Ammar, on the left bank 12 km. N. of Meydūm and 8 km. S. of Lisht, Griffith rightly concluded (JEA III, 142) that here was the capital of the nome. Rather more doubtful is his translation of Inc-hn as 'Warding off the Intruder', a rendering which he says corresponds 'excellently with' Anavθwī, translatable as "Prickle-city", which Ptolemy places W. of the Nile in the same latitude as Aphroditopolis; Atfīh (Aphroditopolis) is, however, almost exactly opposite Meydūm. References to Shenac-khen, all of Graeco-Roman date, Gauthier, V, 136; whether it was really identical, as generally supposed, with the town bearing another late name  Smn-hr 'Smen-Hör', is perhaps a little doubtful; little weight can be attached to P. Louvre 3049 (Brugsch, DG 1063), where not only does Smen-Hör appear in approximately its right place (l. 46) between Mi-wer and Aphroditopolis, but also Shenac-khen occurs, though altogether

out of its true position (l. 35). References to Smen-Hör, see Gauthier, V, 37 and particularly Kuentz, L'oe du Nil, 57, to which add de Morgan, Kom Ombos, No. 894, b, where there is a reference to Khnum as hd hnw 'modeller of limbs'. Khnum is always mentioned as god of the nome, and already on the reconstructed temple of Sesostris I at Karnak; for other examples see Brugsch, Thes. 619, 621; Mar., Dend. IV, 41, in all three instances as 'lord of Smen-Hör'; it is strange that none of our other lists pay attention to the towns in this region.

393  Pi-nbt-th-ihw 'Pi-neb-Spēhu', alternative form, found also Picankhi, 4 and somewhat corrupted in the great Edfu nome-list, as well as in Copt. <sup>5</sup>ΠΕΤΛΗΣ (Rossi, I, IV, 34, quoted by Crum), <sup>8</sup>ΠΕΤΠΕΩ, of the town usually called   Ihw. 'Spēhu', Copt. <sup>5</sup>ΤΠΗΣ, the modern  Atfīh, on the right bank just opposite Meydūm, capital of  the XXIInd and last nome of Upper Egypt, with Hathōr as its goddess, whence it is called Αφροδίτης πόλις by classical writers as metropolis of the nome named by Strabo and Ptolemy the Aphroditopolite. Literature: Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Aphroditopolis; Maspero & Wiet, I, 21 f.; Gauthier, II, 94; VI, 52 f.; for the relatively few monuments found on the site see Porter & Moss, IV, 75 f. It is important to recognize with Wb. I, 120, 4 that Ihw 'Chief of Cows' is the name of the town, not usually an epithet of the goddess, though a few instances of this occur (ibid. 3); but the use of 'Hathōr, lady of the Red Mountain' (see my Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, p. 14) as itself a place-name shows that the two standpoints are not irreconcilable. The rendering 'tête de vache' advocated by Lefebure in Sphinx, X, 109 f. is barely defensible, since both writing and Coptic vocalization of the second

element of the compound show it to be a plural. The name of the nome appears to read  Mtnw, see Piankhi 145, first interpreted thus, according to Brugsch, DG 313, by J. de Rougé. Chass., Edfou, VI, 85 mentions Khnum as god there, probably because he was the neighbour on the left bank; in this passage he bears the name  nb Mtnw, emend o into s. It would seem that occasionally the Fayyūm was reckoned as part of the XXIInd nome, since the reconstructed temple of Sesostris I at Karnak places the god Suchus and the goddess Neith under this head. The exclusion of the Fayyūm from the hieroglyphic nome-lists has often been commented on, but that exclusion is not absolute, since a Dyn. IV tomb at Ichna (Ann. Serv. III, 46) adds  (sic?) S-ray 'the Southern Lake' before the XXIInd nome, and a block of Rameses II built into a pylon at Medinet Habu places 'the Southern Lake' after that nome, Brugsch, Geogr. Inscr. I, Pl. 11, No. 440, with p. 99.

 With No. 393A we enter, from the Pharaonic point of view, Lower Egypt. The modern habit is to regard Upper Egypt as starting from Cairo and Heliopolis, and this standpoint is adopted in my Table, Pl. XXVII.  Pr-Imn-hnt-nfr-m-Mnnfr 'House of Amun of the Beautiful Foreland in Memphis', P. Wilbour, section II only, final entry of the consecutive list of local temples; Gauthier, IV, 182. The following is extracted from my Commentary on the Wilbour papyrus:— 'The problems connected with Amun bearing this epithet are discussed by Daressy in Ann. Serv. XVIII, 34-6 and again by M. Hamza in Mélanges Maspero, I, 647-55, the starting-point of both being a relief found at Kanter showing Rameses II worshipping Amen-Rē, lord of  (sic)

as well as Hathor, lady of  Khantrūf. Daressy quotes also a mayor  "in Khantrūf" among the Delta princes who came to Athribis to make their submission to Piankhi (his inscription, l. 114), and a serapeum stela (Rec. trav. XXIII, 90, § CLV) naming several related persons who were prophets of Amen-Rē  "lord of Khantrūf", two of them also bearing the Memphite title "prophet of Sakhmis  of Sahure" [see below on No. 394, ad fin.]. Hamza adds a Berlin statue (No. 21595, see Roeder, Aeg. Inscr. II, 398), where a New Kingdom personage named Dennufé, who is shown worshipping Bast of Bubastis, combines with his titles of "great steward of the king" and "overseer of prophets of  Ptah Khan-t-Ija?-nen" those of "overseer of the prophets of Min, lord of Epu (Ekhmim)", "conductor of the feast of Ptah" and "First prophet of Amun in Khantrūf" (). From this somewhat intangible evidence Daressy concluded that Khantrūf was a village in the neighbourhood of Izzah, while Hamza, who had elsewhere, in my opinion quite gratuitously, identified Kanter with Pi-Ramesses, now deduced Khantrūf as a further name of the same place. As between the two opinions, that of Daressy receives decided support, not only from the association with the Memphite deities Ptah and Sakhmis, but also from the Wilbour papyrus, which here and in B14, 33 adds "in Memphis" to the divine name. Daressy mentioned in favour of his view that in the Piankhi inscription the mayor or prince adjacent to the mayor of Khantrūf were the governors of Pi-Haapy (now known to be Atar-en-Naby, 2 km. S. of Old Cairo [see below under No. 397]) and Kher-aha (Old Cairo), and also quoted a Leyden papyrus (Amélineau, Géogr. 473) attributing to one Isidorus the title of

ἐπιστάτης καμῆς Ταχενέφρη τὸν Μεμφίτου. Tempting as is at first sight the last comparison, it is difficult to account for the initial *Ta*-, and the final-*φρη* suggests *B-R*, rather than part of *nfr*. It now appears certain that Khantnūf was the name of a town or large village, and it may have lain at the extreme southern boundary of the Memphite nome..... rather than in the immediate proximity of Memphis itself! It is assumed that *m Mn-nfr* here stands for 'in the Memphite nome', which is the less unlikely since the nome-signs seem not to have been employed in hieratic administrative texts of the Ramesside period (P. Wilbour, P. Amiens, the Griffith fragments, JEA XXVII, 51. 64 ff.), but are replaced by references to towns. [394]

 G, *Mnf* 'Memphis', a strange and unique perversion of the normal writing  *Mn-nfr* doubtless reflecting the contemporary pronunciation, and combining with it some recollection of the rarer alternative  'Inbw' 'the Walls' (Gauthier, I, 81) and of the name of the nome  'Inb-hd' 'The White Wall', the 1st of Lower Egypt, that of which Memphis was the capital; Assyr. *Mimpi*, *Mempi*, Hebr.   Gk. *Mέμφις* (from Herodotus onward); Copt. <sup>s</sup> *MNqē* (Hosea, q, 6; Berlin Kopt. Urk. 31, V, 32), <sup>s</sup> *MENBE*, <sup>b</sup> *MEQI*, *MENQ* in the *scalae* (Munier in Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 233); Arab. *ءِنْفَ* *Menf* (Maspero & Wiet, I, 199 f.); the modern *ئِنْفَ*, *ئِنْفَ* *Mit Rahinah* on the left bank now 3 km. from the Nile and 20 km. S. of the Citadel at Cairo. The name *Mn-nfr* is derived from that of the pyramid of Pharaoh I and of the town which that VIth Dyn. king built around it; these were called   *Phy-mn-nfr* 'Pharaoh is firmly established) and well', and stood on the desert ridge opposite the modern village of  *لِهْ سَكَّارَة* some 2.5 to 3 km. due W. of Mit Rahinah where the temple of Ptah and other great

temples were situated. The name Memphis as applied to the great city centring around Mit Rahinah occurs perhaps no earlier than Dyn. XVIII (cf. Urk. IV, 3), and it may have been not long before that date that the built-up area crept out to the site of Pharaoh I's pyramid. The early European travellers were in some doubt concerning the site, for which a location at *Fostat* (Old Cairo) was often claimed; however, the Frenchman Thévenot and the Englishman Pococke were under no such illusion. Moreover, at the end of the XIIth century the trustworthy Arabic physician Abd el-Latif expatiated on the immense extent of the ruins, singling out for mention not only the still visible colossus of Ramesses II, but also a green (really greenish grey) naos of which some fragments bearing the name of Amasis of Dyn. XXVI are built into the Cairene mosque of the Emir Sheikhū (Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, 184 ff. and Stricker in Ann. Serv. XXXIX, 215 ff.). To deal adequately with Memphis would need a whole book; here it must suffice to refer to the article by Kees in Pauly-Wissowa and to the popular account by Capart and Verbrück. For the published monuments see Porter & Moss, III, and for ingenious theories concerning the history and names of the town, Sethe, Unters. III, 121 ff., dwelling particularly on the designation  *Inb-hd* 'The White Wall' found in three of our lists; this is the *Λευκὸν τεῖχος* of Hdt. III, q1; Thuc. I, 104; Diod. XI, 74-7, serving alike as name of the nome, as name of the city, and as name of a quarter in the city. The principal god was Ptah, see Stolk, *Ptah*, 1911; earliest representation of him, Dyn. I, Petrie, *Tarkhan I*, Pls. 3. 37. His ancient temple had by Ramesside times (Harris, 51, a, 7; P. Wilbour, A. §§ 80. 146, P. Leyd. 348, vs. 4, 8) obtained the stereotyped designation                                <

but though the elements of this go back to the Old Kingdom (*rōy im-b-f*, see Palermo Stone, vs. 5,2; Mar., *Mast.* 378, 390; curiously not recorded so early in *Wb.* II, 452, 16; *nb* *cnh-tswy*, in older times only of Bast or Sakhmis, Borchardt, *Sakurēc*, II, Text, 113, 128), the combination of the last two epithets is not found until M. K., Cairo 20253, 20742, in Lange & Schäfer. The prominence of Ptah at Memphis gave rise to yet another alternative name of the city  *Hwt-kb-Pth* 'Soul-Mansion of Ptah' (Gauthier, IV, 134 f.), which Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.* I, 83) with great plausibility conjectured to be the origin of *Aigypnos*. For  *Skr* 'Sokar' (?= *Σωχάρης* as personal name, Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 402; *Σωχάρης* as a briopian deity in a doubtful passage of a Greek writer of comedy, Hoffner, *Fontes*, II, 52), often equated with Ptah, see Roeder, art. *Sokar* in Roscher, *Lex.* The earth-god  *Tj-tnn* 'Ta-tjener', later written  'Tjener', cf. -*tūris* in the place-name *Tεβτύνιος* (Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, p. 33), was likewise also identified with Ptah, and stands in the great Edfu nome-list as the god representing the Memphite nome. The most usual triad assigned to Memphis consisted of Ptah, the lioness-headed Sakhmis (-*σαχμίς*, earlier Bast, see Roeder, art. *Sechmet* in Roscher) and the lotus-god Nefertem (*Ίφθίμιος*, P. Hirsch I, 27, 85; -*νεφθίμιος*, Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 314), see List XV in the Table; but many more deities, both male and female, are recorded, see (e.g.) Sall. IV, vs. 1, 3 ff.; a list at Abydos, Kees in *Rec. trav.* XXXVII, 57 ff. The goddesses in the Karnak list (V) need closer examination. Immediately after the Hathor of Aphroditopolis (37) comes the often-named Hathor  *nbt Nht* 'lady of the sycomore' (38), whose epithet receives also the variant forms 'lady of the Southern sycomore' (New Kingdom onwards) and in Harris 49, 2 'lady of the sycomore to the south of the Wall-city'; i.e. Memphis, see *Wb.* II, 282, 14 f.; ladies of the Old Kingdom are frequently

called 'prophetesses of Hathor, lady of the sycomore', just as others omit the last qualification or replace it by a locality, Denderah or Cusae, see Murray, *Index*, Pl. 29; this may mean no more than that they were votaries of Venus, intimating at the same time their native place. Hathor 'lady of the Southern sycomore', is one of the seven Hathors named in Graeco-Roman lists, see Brugsch, *Ihes.* 499 ff.; Chass., *Mammisi*, 11. In the MS copy of the Karnak list made for me by Sethe, he wrote against this entry 'Dahschur?', on what grounds I do not know. This raises the important question, which I cannot answer, whether these Memphite goddesses are enumerated in any sort of topographical sequence, which would be important in connexion with No. 396 below. Henceforward my comments will be sparing: 39, Hathor  *hr-ib Mn-nfr* 'dwelling in Memphis'; 40,  *B3stt*, *Wdwt*, *Smrt* 'Bast, Edjo, Shesmet', regarded as a single goddess(?); 41, Hathor  *hnt wkt* (?) 'the Unique(?) Lady', the destroyed sign read by Brugsch as , by the Chicago publication as  reversed and dotted, probably correctly so on account of the spacing; 42, Müt  *hnt pr Pth* 'prominent in the House of Ptah'; 43,  *Shmt* .... 'Sakhmis....'; 44, Müt =  *m hnt-ntrw* 'in the Mansion of the Gods'; 45, Hathor  *nbt Sht-Rc* 'Lady of Sekh-Rēc', the place-name *Sht-Rc* being often mentioned, especially in connexion with the sun-temple of Sakurēc (Gauthier, V, 55), and if so here, referring to Abusir; 46, Müt =  *nbt nsut tswy* 'Lady of the Thrones of the Two Lands, recalling the common title of the Theban Amen-Rēc'; 47,  *hst* (Sethe  Chicago  ) dwelling in Memphis, no reference found elsewhere; 48, Sakhmis  (new line)  1, destroyed in the two parallel texts, probably to be read with Sethe as  *shwt* 'Sakhmis', for whose cult at Abusir persisting right down to Ptolemaic times see Borchardt, *Sakurēc*,

I, 101 ff.; 120 ff.; II, Text, 113, n. 8; Rec. trav. XXVI, 152 ff., besides an example quoted above under No. 393 A. The next goddess (49) is our No. 396 below.

395 T ro ia, 'Troia', the modern ȝb Turah, with the famous limestone quarries on the east side of the Nile, some 9-10 km. by river upstream from Old Cairo. The old form T ro au R-3w 'Ro-au' is of very common occurrence from Dyn. IV onwards (Urk. I, 20, 4) as the place from which was brought the ȝs t o l l l 'fine white stone of Ainu'. This expression and the place-names involved are treated in detail in Sethe's article Bau- und Denkmalsteine der alten Ägypter, in Sitz. Berlin, 1933, 864 ff. A full illustrated account of the quarries at Turah itself and at ȝszol El-Marsarah 2 or 3 km. further south is given by Vyse, Pyr-  
amids, III, 90 ff. Bibliography of the stelae, etc., on both sites, Porter & Moss, IV, 74 f. References for the name R-3w, sparingly dealt with in Brugsch, DG 451. 884 and Gauthier, III, 112, will be found Urk. II, 393, 12, the most important addition to be made to which is the diverting Old Kingdom letter discussed by me SEA XIII, 75 ff.; see too the early article by Brugsch, ZAS V (1867), 89 ff. The name R-3w occurs at Turah on the two stelae of Amenophis III, written ȝs l R-3w and also, according to Dar-  
essy, Ann. Serv. XI, 260, on that of Necho; at El-Marsarah, on that of King Nekhtharhêbe. The Greek name Tpoia survives in the modern Turah, and was recognized as belonging to these quarries (e.g. by Vyse) before any connexion could be traced between it and the Egyptian designation R-3w, which the earlier Egyptologists read as Ru-fu. The writing with the initial dental in On. Am., though requiring some elucidation, proves beyond a doubt that the name Tpoia was suggested to the Greeks by the native name, so that this recalling of the famous town of Troy in north-western Asia

Textual Note. 395 *a* The initial sign is discussed in the text.

Minor falls into line with the creation of an Egyptian Thebes, Abydus and Labyrinth beside those in the Hellenic lands. The legend arose that the quarries had been occupied by captive Trojans who accompanied Menelaus to Egypt, see Strabo, XVII, 1, 34, where it is also mentioned that this was the place whence the stone for the Pyramids was taken; somewhat differently Diod. I, 56, 4; Ptolemy, IV, 5, 12 has Τρωικὸν λίθον ὄπος. To return to the writing in On. Am.; the first sign is one which must be transcribed as  $\text{---}$ , but probably represents, as often, a  $\text{---}$  extended to match the  $\text{---}$  below it and assimilated to  $\text{---}$  in the process, the most familiar analogy being the Hasmonean writing  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  for itn 'earth'. Gauthier's supposition that the initial t (d) is the feminine article is most improbable, and Sethe's view that it stands for  $\text{---}$  t 'land' is much preferable. In support of this Sethe quoted a unique writing  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  in Harris, 37, b, 3, see the Table; in this he is probably right, though if  $\text{---}$  was meant, the dots below might have been expected; for  $\text{---}$  later prefixed to a geographical name cf.  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  b-sny for earlier  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  sny 'Esna', above, p. 11\*. The reference in Harris is in the Heliopolitan section, and is concerned with Nile ceremonies performed at Pi-Hatry (below, No. 394), at Heliopolis itself, and in  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  pr inpw, nb sipt, m b-r-3w 'The House of Anubis, lord of Sepa, in Troia'. Here sipt is undoubtedly a writing for  $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$  spz, of which Anubis was frequently said to be the lord from the Old Kingdom onwards; see the elaborate and in many ways excellent study by Kees, ZÄS LVIII, 19 ff., though I fail to elicit from his statements whether he believes spz to have been an actual town, and if so, where that town was situated. Kees quotes, however, good authority for the cult of Anubis, lord of Sepa, in Turah (op. cit. 90), not overlooking

important mentions of this god on the site itself, Vyse, Pyramids, III, plates opposite p. 94 ff., Tablets No. 1 (Ammenemes) and No. 4 (Amenophis III); clearly there was a temple of him in the neighbourhood. Other deities worshipped in Turah were 'Horus in Ro-au' and 'Ptah in 'Inb-hd 'East Memphis' (Kees, op. cit. 90; Sethe, op. cit. 842); in Maṣar-ah also suchus (Vyse's Tablet No. 7). The threefold reference to East Memphis in connexion with Turah shows that the passage in Harris must not be interpreted to mean that Troia lay in the Heliopolitan area, though certain combinations made by Sethe might seem to point in that direction. I shall proceed to show that Sethe has been misled by a mistake in copying for which Brugsch was responsible. Sethe devotes much space to the discussion of  nw in the designation 'fine white stone of 'Ainu'. He hardly sufficiently stresses the fact that this word nw is only very seldom determined as a place-name, unless, as he supposes, such a determinative is inherent in the sign  itself. Perhaps the sole exceptions are the late Cairo sarcophagus of Onnophris, where the owner says of himself 'I was in 'Ainu, in East Memphis, called Ro-au' (Mar., Monuments divers, 59), and a Canopic jar of the   'mayor of 'Ainu Yeti', Berlin 1416, quoted by Brugsch, DG 121. The 

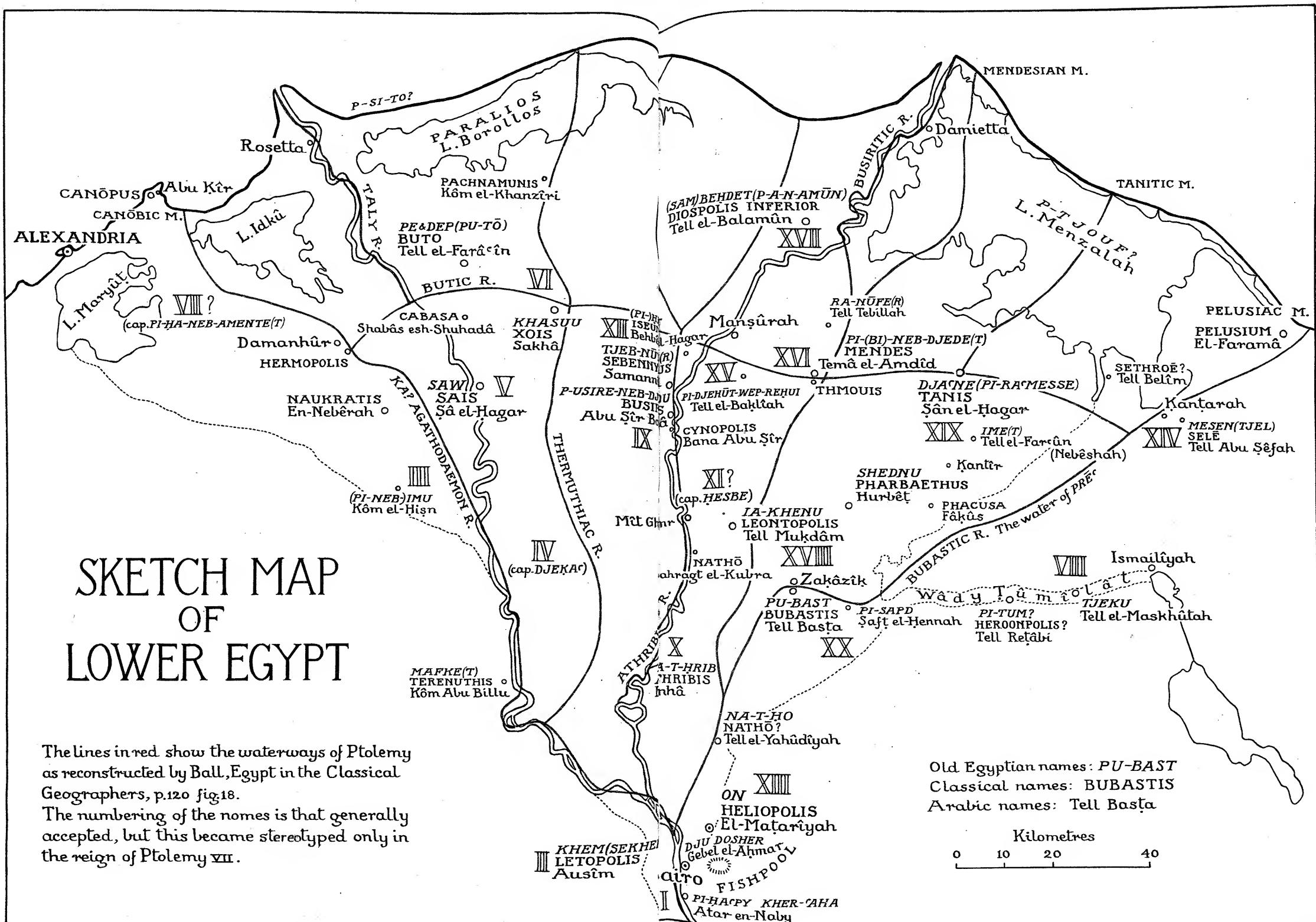
variation of writing this suggestion seems very plausible. Sethe (op. cit. 841) interprets the name  in Picankhi, 3, where it has the determinative for a sheet of water, as likewise referring to Turah, and misleadingly affirms that it occurs in association with Pi-Haṣpy; this 'An (Ain) is much more probably the canal or river-branch mentioned as the phw belonging to the IIIrd Lower Egyptian nome (Chass., Edfou, IV, 24; Düm., Geogr. Inschr. IV, 109 from Denderah), and there are other similar place-names which do not refer to Turah and cannot be here enumerated. However, the inscription of an architect Couyat & Montet, Hammāt, No. 93 (Persian period), which gives him the title   'prophet of the gods who are in 'Ain', is speaking of cults in Turah and the neighbourhood, so that here we have another certain example, though without a determinative of locality, to set beside the Cairo sarcophagus and the Berlin Canopic jar. Indeed, it seems impossible to interpret 'Ainu' in the expression studied by Sethe otherwise than as a place-name, though the Egyptians themselves had conceivably early ceased to attach any precise meaning to it, using Ro-au whenever it was desired to indicate the exact source of the stone. Sethe conjectures that  here where it has the reading in clearly related to the Hebrew  cain 'eye', may in this place-name have had the secondary meaning 'spring', a meaning common in Hebrew; and he regards the sign  in which this  is contained as a piece of water, comparing such writings as             <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph: a vertical column of three strokes above a circle with a

inclines to identify Ainu with the more northerly part of the region just mentioned, i.e. the Mokattam hills overlooking Cairo. For this view he depends almost entirely on an Edfu list of nomes and their parts as given in Brugsch, DG 1390. Here the supplementary district  has assigned to it as 'territory'                                  <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph: a mountain with a vertical stroke" data-bbox="5005 195 502

# SKETCH MAP OF LOWER EGYPT

The lines in red show the waterways of Ptolemy as reconstructed by Ball, Egypt in the Classical Geographers, p.120 fig.18.

The numbering of the nomes is that generally accepted, but this became stereotyped only in the reign of Ptolemy VII.



the Nile welled up anew from the depths, providing nourishment for the inhabitants of Egypt (op. cit. pp. 379 ff.); further illustration of this chapter is provided by a series of post-Ramesside papyri described in a preliminary way by Chassinat, Bull. inst. fr. III, 129 ff. and Wiedemann, Proc. SBA XXII, 155 ff. Further references to Kher-caka as in the vicinity of a source of the Nile occur in P. Berlin 3056, 2, 3 ff., of which a parallel text is Brugsch, Grosse Oase, 27, 33 ff. Sethe, who deals with this topic in his Urgeschichte, § 109, quotes from ZAS XLIV, 17 a stela of Greek date in Florence on which the 'Upper Egyptian Nile-flood which is in Biggah' is contrasted with the 'Lower Egyptian Nile-flood which issues forth from Heliopolis'. The latter undoubtedly refers to Pi-Hapy and Kher-caka, which are clearly regarded as belonging to Heliopolis in various texts. So for example Harris, alike in the passage already quoted and in 37, b, 1, where reference is made to the 'offerings of the books of Hapy which he (scil. Ramesses III) instituted anew in the House of Hapy (Pi-Hapy), father of the gods', and in other places, including Turah, see above under No. 395; see Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, 156, n. e for the nature of these offerings. So too in P. Wilbour, A, § 238, where a few fields belonging to 'the House of Hapy, father of the gods' are listed, the paragraph occurring at the end of those devoted to the temples of Heliopolis, not among the provincial temples. As Sethe observes, it is strange that Pi-Hapy should mark, as it were, the beginning of Lower Egypt, seeing that the Memphite nome was accounted the first nome of the Delta series. Still the fact is undoubted and is attested by important facts not cited by Sethe, and dealt with more fully in my article JEA XXX, 33 f. A statistical text at Edfu (Chass, VI, 200 = Brugsch, Thes. 604) gives

among other figures the length of Egypt as 106 schoeni (itr). Borchardt pointed out in Festschrift f. Lehmann-Haupt = Janus, 1921, pp. 119 ff., and earlier in Nilmeaser und Nilstandsmarken (Abh. Berlin 1906), p. 54, n. 3, that three cubits discovered at Karnak, as well as the charred geographical papyrus from Tanis (Griffith & Petrie, Two Hierogl. Pap., Pl. 9, fr. 9) analyse this total of 106 schoeni into 86 schoeni from Elephantine to Pi-Hapy and 20 schoeni thence to Behdet; from these data he calculated the length of the itr or schoenus at 20,000 cubits or 10.5 km. Since Borchardt's article appeared, far older traces of the same text have come to light. The reconstructed temple of Sesostris I at Karnak, copies of the inscriptions upon which I owe to the kindness of M. Lacau, contains lists of the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt; at the end of these lists is a garbled version of the text on the cubits, but with these figures omitted or lost, while there are others dealing with the areas of cultivated land or the like. In view of the corrupt condition of this record, it seems likely that the archetype goes back to the Old Kingdom.

The tradition of Pi-Hapy as the dividing-line between Upper and Lower Egypt receives support from a number of mythological data. The very short spell 550 of the Pyramid Texts contains the only mention in those texts of Kher-caka: the following is a rendering: 'Back, thou great Black one. Stumble in Kher-caka, in that place where they stumbled.' Since the great Black one here cannot, as elsewhere, be Osiris as the bull of Athribis, it seems likely to refer to Seth as a hippopotamus. If so, this spell alludes to the battle between Horus and Seth in the 'netherworld' () of Kher-caka, when the two gods transformed themselves into hippopotamuses and contended for three days and three nights, Sall. IV, rt. 2, 8 ff., cf. P. Ch. Beatty I, 8, 9 ff.; this same battle may be

alluded to in Pyr. 1242, where the king is said to have found the eye of Horus in Heliopolis (for the connexion of Pi-Hapy with Heliopolis see above), and to have 'extracted it from the head of Seth in that place where they did battle'. Horus and Seth are here (pace Kees, whose objections seem to me altogether wrong-headed) undoubtedly the representative gods of Lower and Upper Egypt, and the name  'The Scene (lit. 'under') of Battle' may well refer to the decisive struggle. There is some difficulty about the mythological geography of the famous text Brit. Mus. 135\*, but the division of the two lands between Horus and Seth in  is probably to be connected with their combat in Kher-aka; Sethe, Dram. Texte, 26, n. m had a wrong view of , which he, in common with others, identified with  inw, and his subsequent modification of that opinion, discussed above under No. 395, is in need of still further revision. In the sign Papyrus from Tanis (Griffith & Petrie, Tuo Hierogl. Pap. Pl. 1, col. 30, l. 14) the sign  is explained as                <img

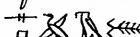
combination with some further evidence which will be produced in the Postscript p. 144\*, is sufficient to vindicate the opinion expressed above under No. 395 that the supplementary district or nome named (see below, No. 408), identifies Horus of Edfu with 'him who takes Sêp to Kher-caha on his raft in order that he may see the execution-place of his enemies'. The whereabouts of Kher-caha is determinable (1) from the above established fact that Pi-Hacpy and Kher-caha were so close to one another as to be almost inseparable, (2) from the occurrence in list A of Pi-Hacpy before, i.e. south of, the district (see below, No. 408) to which Kher-caha belongs, (3) from an important passage in the inscription of Picankhi, and (4) from the recent discovery that Pi-Hacpy is, almost beyond a doubt, identical with Atar en-Naby. Before dealing with the last point, we must dispose of Sethe's assertion (Unters. III, 105, repeated Urgeschichte, 510q) that Pi-Hacpy, according to him having the Greek name *Neilou nolis*, lay upon the island of Rôdah opposite Old Cairo, and that from the hoariest antiquity there existed there, as now, a Nilometer which was the principal means of checking the height of the inundation. So far as I can see, this assertion, which formed the basis of elaborate calculations in Borchardt's above-mentioned work on the Nilometers, is almost undiluted conjecture. The island of Rôdah (أیسوجيزر جزيرت er-Rôdah), 3 km. long, has at its southern tip, just opposite Old Cairo, a Nilometer (*الطقيايس* El-Mikyâs) constructed in 247 A.H. (861 A.D.) to replace another erected by Osâma ibn Zeyd in 97 A.H. (716 A.D.) which was destroyed by the action of the water (Maspero & Wiet, I, 68; S. Lane-Poole, History of Egypt, p. 26, n.1); no antiquities are recorded from the island, and it seems a gratuitous assumption, though possibly not an improbable one, that Pi-Hacpy, wherever it may have been, possessed a Nilometer. Moreover, the Greek name *Neilou nolis*, which Sethe attributes to Pi-Hacpy, has no justification at all, see Gauthier,

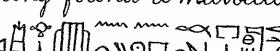
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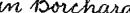
Nomes, 189 f. The Nilopolis of Ptolemy and possibly also the Neîlos of Stephen of Byzantium lay in the Serapeopolite nome, and is the modern وَلِيٰ Dallâs, Copt.  $\beta\lambda\sigma\chi$ , 13 km. north of Beni Suef on the left bank, see Kees in Pauly-Wissowa, art. Nilopolis; Maspero & Wiet, I, 90 f.; Munier, Recueil, 16. 149. This Nilopolis and a village in the Fayyûm appear to be the only two definitely located places bearing the name, and for them no Pharaonic equivalents have been discovered; the only Neîlou πόλις which can at all plausibly be identified with that under discussion is the place to which, according to Diod. I, 85, the young Apis was taken before it was conducted to the sanctuary of Hephaestus at Memphis. The new evidence for Pi-Hacpy here to be adduced is given by M. Hamza in Ann. Serv. XXXVII, 233 ff., and consists of a naos of Menephtah discovered at Atar en-Naby (see on this place Maspero & Wiet, I, 99; Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes, I, 288), the king being described as 'beloved of ~~ح~~ حاپي, father of the gods'. Golénischeff had previously found on the same site, on the right bank 2 km. south of Old Cairo, a shrine of Amasis on which the name of Hacpy is lost, but the epithet 'father of the gods' preserved (Rec. trav. XI, 98 f.). There can, accordingly, be little doubt that here was situated the temple of Hacpy mentioned in the Harris and Wilbour papyri. Since list A showed that Pi-Hacpy lay to the south of Kher-aka, it seems legitimate to accept the view of Brugsch, Sethe and Gauthier that Kher-aka corresponds pretty closely with the present Old Cairo, though no monuments have been found there definitely to prove the equation. The passage Sicankhi, 100 ff. is in close agreement; after relating the doings of the conqueror in Memphis the text continues:

'When the land had grown bright and the morrow came, His Majesty proceeded to the east. A purification was made to ~~the~~ Atum in Kher-aha and the Ennead in Ptah-setjet (the House of the Ennead) and the Cavern of

the Gods which is in it, (this purification) consisting of *iw*-cattle, shorthorns and geese, in order that they might give life, prosperity and health to King Picankhi (may he live for ever). Then His Majesty proceeded to Heliopolis  over that mountain of *ther-caka*, on the road of *Sehp* to *ther-caka*!

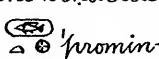
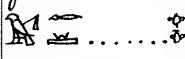
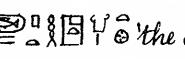
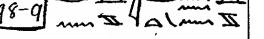
As von Bissing pointed out in ZAS LIII, 144 f., the words  in the neighbourhood of the lords of Kher-aka, the divine way of the gods to the horizon west of (or 'the western horizon of') Heliopolis' on the Sphinx stela, &c. undoubtedly refer to the same road; but the context is so obscure that I omit further references to it in my glosses upon the text of Piankhi. The centipede god Seph, lk. -σηφ, in early times written  Σεφ, is well-known as one of the deities of Heliopolis and is dealt with very learnedly by Kees in ZAS LVIII, 82 ff. Kees appears, however, to have overlooked the words quoted above from B(2)=C(2); the exact mythological incident there alluded to is obscure, but the bringing of Seph to Kher-aka from Heliopolis 'on his raft' (Kees, op. cit. 87 quotes several late passages for shn) explains the preposition  in Piankhi, where it might seem somewhat irrational, seeing that Piankhi's course lay in the reverse direction. The outstanding problem in the passage quoted turns on whether Pi-Pesjet (Pr-pstjt 'the House of the Ennead') is a place distinct from Kher-aka, as Gauthier, II, 48; Nomes, 91 supposes, or whether it was simply an alternative name for Kher-aka. Like Sethe, Bau-u. Denkmalsteine, 890, I am inclined to take the latter view. The principal god of Kher-aka was undoubtedly Atum, as mentioned in the Piankhi passage and again on the statue Cairo 682 (Rec. trav. XIV, 177 = Borchardt, Statuen, III, 26 ff.). But apart from Atum, a passage from Harris already quoted speaks of 'the Ennead, lords of Kher-aka'; the 'lords of Kher-aka', see above from the Sphinx stela; a door-jamb of the reign of Sesostris I (Ann. Serv. IV, 102) refers to 'the nine gods in Kher-aka', who are also mentioned,

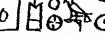
though without indication of the number, on the Palermo Stone vs. 4,3. These references alone would make it likely that Pi-Pesjet was a name of Kher-aka itself, and this is made the more probable because the words following Pi-Pesjet in the passage of Pi-cankhi undoubtedly refer to Kher-aka; the cavern (imht) is mentioned also in the Berlin hymn alluded to above as indicating a source of the Nile in Kher-aka. Apparently there was another Pi-Pesjet in the Delta which is named in On. Am. No. 403 and will be discussed in connexion therewith. We have already noted the occurrence of Pi-Pesjet in List A at Edfu, where there is no obstacle to its identification with Kher-aka. The same holds good of an important mention on a stela which does not allude to Kher-aka, but does name Pi-Pesjet. This is the stela of Ramesses II found at Manschüt es-Sadr, 5.5 km. south of the temple-site at Heliopolis and 2-3 km. from the Gebel el-Ahmar (new edition by N. Hamada, Ann. Serv. XXXVIII, 211ff.). Here it is recounted that the king found a marvellous block of sandstone whilst wandering over  'the desert of On (Heliopolis) to the south (lit. 'front') of Pi-Re (another name of Heliopolis) and to the north of Pi-Pesjet, opposite Hathor, the lady of the Red Mountain'. Since, as we have seen, the Gebel el-Ahmar was about half-way between Heliopolis and Old Cairo, there seems no obstacle here to identifying Pi-Pesjet with Kher-aka and locating the latter at Old Cairo.

Kher-aka is very frequent in our texts, and the references given above do not exhaust the material. Before leaving the Pharaonic evidence, attention must be called to an Old Kingdom example of the district of 'Fishpool'. This occurs in Borchardt, Sakurēc, II, Pl. 72; the context has perished, but Sethe guessed that a goddess was named; the goddess Müt with the epithet  bnt(t)-cbury-ntrw occurs elsewhere as lady of the district,

Chass., Edfou, VI, 53, but discussion of her would lead too far; see, however, Seth's note, Bau- u. Denkmalsteine, 871, n. 23.

It remains to speak of the etymology of Ba<sup>θ</sup>ulw<sup>r</sup>, and of the relation of that place to Si-<sup>θ</sup>acry and to Old Cairo. The ingenious etymology <sup>\*</sup> of P(er)-hapu-l-<sup>l</sup>-on 'the House of Hacry of On (Heliopolis)' first appeared in print in Spiegelberg, Randglossen, p. 39 (1904), where Sethe is quoted as the author; he himself repeats and defends it Urgeschichte, § 109 (1930). It is probable that the Greek comparison with the great city of the Babylonians was due to the assonance presented by an Egyptian place name, and assuredly no better original has been suggested. The Egyptian Babylon, first mentioned Strabo, XVII, 1, 30. 31, is constantly referred to alike in the Greek authors and in the papyri right down to Byzantine times, when, as Bell has set forth in P. London, IV, p. XVIII, nn. 4. 5, the name was used interchangeably with b<sup>θ</sup>us Fostat (from Latin fossatum), the other designation of Old Cairo, see Maspero & Wiet, I, 139 ff. The term Njōos Ba<sup>θ</sup>ulw<sup>r</sup> was, or included, the island of Rōdah. Ptolemy reports that the Amnis Trajanus, the canal to the Red Sea, started from Babylon, and since the beginning of this existed under the name of خليج القاهرة Khalīq el-<sup>θ</sup>āhirah until filled in towards the end of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century and ran diagonally from Old Cairo across the modern city (Maspero & Wiet, I, 84 f.), here we have yet another means of locating Babylon. Important Nile ceremonies which persisted down to Turkish times at the mouth of this canal may thus have been survivals of great antiquity. Further literature, Sethe in Fauly-Wissowa, s.v.; Freisigke, III, 289. If Si-<sup>θ</sup>acry is placed at Atar en-Naby (see above), it seems the less likely that this should be equated with the Egyptian Babylon, which may, on the other hand, be safely taken as the Greek name for Kher-aka. Whether these considerations

are fatal to Sethe's proposed etymology must be left for others to decide. Postscript. In order not to disturb the argument concerning (4) I append here some further evidence which came to my knowledge after the above was written. (1) In Guilmant, *Sarcophage de Ramsès IX*, Pl. 48 the time-honoured representation of the falcon-god Horus the Behdetite hovering above the king's head receives the epithet  'prominent in Fishpool', cf. also Rochem, *Edfou*, I, 11; facing the king the falcon-headed Khons is identified with Shu and also equated with  ..... 'the great falcon..... residing in Sikuptah (Memphis)'. (2) Grdseloff has recently produced new grounds (*Ann. Serv.* XL, 207 ff.) for locating (4) in the Heliopolitan area; he quotes an early M. K. coffin (Berlin, *Aeg. Inschr.* I, 135) for the mention of the rarely named god  Duau (pp. 1155), the patron of oculists, as  'lord of Fishpool' and publishes (pp. 214 ff.) an O. K. stela of a  'prophet of Duau' found at Kafir el-Gamās, 2 km. SE. of Heliopolis. See further the cylinder-seal Brit. Mus. 2605 mentioned above, p. 130\*, footnote. 

G, - 'mouth of (?) the river'. These two are taken together because  alone can barely be construed as a separate entry; there seems even a possibility that the two words may constitute an apposition to Pi-Hatshepsut, No. 394. The problem turns on  not recorded in *Wb.* and hardly to be equated with the equally problematic , No. 50 above. My proposal to emend   'mouth of' is a desperate remedy; no such expression is known, and the only point in its favour is that at Pi-Hatshepsut or the neighbouring Kher-aka, as we have just seen, there was believed to be a new source of, or entrance ('mouth') to the Nile. 

*On. Am. No. 400 'Iunw-Rc.'*

*Textual Note.* 398<sup>a</sup> Perhaps emend .

also in two early XIX<sup>th</sup> Dyn. instances, Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, Pls. 10, 4, 1; 13 a, 1, cf. the 'On of Month', i.e. Hermonthis, Nos. 332-3 and the 'On of the goddess', i.e. Denderah, No. 343 above; Babyl. Āna (*ZAS LVIII*, 135), Hebr.     πόλις (from Herodotus on), Copt. <sup>58</sup> ων, Arab.    in the *scalae* (Munier in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte*, V, 242; Maspero & Viet, I, 131 f.), just N. of the village of  El-Matariyah, see the plan *ZAS LXXI*, 125, together with the accompanying account by H. Ricke, who quotes the various classical and later descriptions of the city from Diodorus and Strabo onwards. Loc. cit. 107 ff. Ricke explains the ring-wall with rounded corners discovered by Petrie as the containing wall of a primitive mound of sand such as was found at Hierakonpolis—the     <img alt="Egyptian hier

P. Wilbour also knows nothing of a temple of Atum, only of that of Rēc-Harakhti; see in my Commentary, the Synopsis of Text A under § 144. Only in Piankhi 105-6 is a separate temple accorded to Atum, but this is passed over very briefly as though of small importance. For the theology of the city see Sethe, Urgeschichte, §§ 112 ff. In the vignette of Harris, as also in the goddesses' list (Nos. 50-1) and on a small obelisk of Ramesses II (Ann. Serv. IV, 105), two goddesses are allotted to the town, namely Isesaa and Nebhotep, the latter often identified with Hathor; both were associated with the generative acts of the solar god, as was perhaps first recognized for the former by Maspero, Études de Mythologie, II, 247 on the basis of two passages in the Pyramid Texts (1210, 1248), where different etymologies are indicated. Isesaa ('As she comes, she grows') was apparently regarded as the mother of the god, Harris, 30, 1, though curiously and possibly only by a corruption as his daughter three lines later; Hathor Nebhotep ('Lady of Contentment') was identified with the 'hand of the god' and as his wife, who gave birth to the Ennead, Erman, Beitr. z. äg. Rel., in Sitz. Berlin, 1916, pp. 1145f.; references for both, Brugsch, Religion, 284 ff.; Ricke, loc. cit., discusses the temple of Nebhotep and gives as further reference Cairo 34175, in Lacau, Stèles, p. 215. Beside the two goddesses is named the centipede-god Tp3 - 6ηφ, for whom see ZAS LVIII, 82 ff. and above under Nos. 394-397A. The B3w Twnw 'Souls of Heliopolis'; see Sethe, Urgeschichte, § 127; for the Mnevis bull, E. Otto, Beitr. z. Geschichte der Stierkulie, 34 ff.

401 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606.

تى،فس ساحرات (el-Kubra), Copt.  $\sigma\alpha\gamma\pi\alpha\omega\tau$ , 8 km. S.W. of Tell Mukdām (near Mit Ghāmr a good 65 km. N. of Heliopolis), which is identified with practical certainty as Leontopolis (Daressy, Bull. inst. fr. XXX, 625, an extraordinarily elusive article from which, nevertheless, the essential facts can be extricated; see too Kees in Fauly-Wissowa, s.v. Leontopolis; also below, pp. 186<sup>ff.</sup>). Unless this Coptic evidence can be traced back to one common source, its weight seems too great to warrant the guess that here an obsolete name *Nathō* has been transferred to the wrong Leontopolis. In the two lists of bishopries the name of *Sahragt* is coupled with a place written as لىٰ or لىٰ *Banbā* or *Banā*, and Amélineau (p. 270) suggested that the word should be differently pointed as لىٰ *Nata*, i.e. *Nathō*, see too Maspero & Wiet, I, 209f. Another possibility perhaps is that لىٰ may be a corruption of لىٰ *Behnaya*, a village immediately to the E. of Tell Mukdām. Could the confusion of *Banā* and *Nata* have lain at the root of the localization of *Nathō* at Leontopolis (Tell Mukdām)? A third hypothesis that perhaps presents less difficulties is that there existed more than one *Nathō*, and that the name belonged to two places which by a strange coincidence both later acquired the Greek name Leontopolis. A cuneiform inscription of Ashurbanipal (Rm. cyl. col. I, ll. 92-4) mentions two different princes of *Na-at-ku-u*, and, as Sidney Smith has pointed out in an interesting letter to me, this might imply two different places of the name. Herodotus, who refers to *Nathō* as though it were a nome (II, 165, unsatisfactorily discussed by Gauthier, Nomes, 9 ff.) speaks of 'the half *Nathō*' (*Nathō τὸ ἡμίνυ*), which at all events implies some duplication. The references to *Nathō* slightly differently spelt in the Not. Dign. (*Naithu*) and the itinerary in a Greek papyrus (*Nabw*, PSI V,

No. 543) throw no light on its exact whereabouts.  For sake of convenience, and because the consecutive south-north order is followed thus far, I have counted Heliopolis (No. 400) as belonging to the Upper Egyptian series, and Tell el-Yahūdiyah (No. 401), as we have seen, was in Ramesside times regarded as an appendage to Heliopolis. The eighteen remaining names of localities, including three arms of the river; all belong, so far as they are identifiable, to the Delta. It is a most strange selection, omitting such important towns as Athribis, Bubastis and Sais, and no very clear order is discernible, though the list terminates with the eastern frontier fortress of Sele. 402

$\square \text{I} \text{ا} \text{ل} \text{ك}$  G, Pr-Pth 'Pi-Ptah', 'House of Ptah', from the position in G undoubtedly in the Delta and probably in the apex thereof. Of the places with the same or a similar name mentioned by Brugsch, DG 233f.; Gauthier, II, 49f.; IV, 216, none was in the Delta. Gauthier's proposal to link this entry to Nsy-tz-Hwt preceding and to regard the two combined as a reference to Memphis in the widest sense is refuted by the evidence adduced under No. 401. Though not quoted by Brugsch or Gauthier, at all events under the heading Pr-Pth, there exist indications of a cult of Ptah in various parts of the Delta, see below, p. 155\* for  $\text{س} \text{م} \text{ن} \text{ه} \text{ل}$  Pt-mw-*n*-Pth 'the Water of Ptah', doubtless a branch of the river, and p. 158\* for an unidentified  $\square \text{س} \text{م} \text{ن} \text{ه} \text{ل}$  hot-ntr nt Pth-Tnn 'temple of Ptah-Tenen' said to be 'on the bank of the River' (sic). There was also a town of Ptah never mentioned in the hieroglyphs, but attested by the name *H̄phaiōtos* in Hierocles 729,9; *Iφεστος* in Geo. Cyp. 696, and mentioned in somewhat different forms in a number of post-classical writings, see Gelzer, Geo. Cyp. descriptio, p. 112; this lay in the eparchy Augustannica I, covering the north-eastern portion of the

Delta to a line somewhere S. of Ithmuis and Tanis, see the map op. cit. at end. The list of bishops attending the Council of Ephesus A.D. 431 mentions one John of Stephaestus, the place-name being translated into Coptic as *CYNQwp*, of which the not uncommon Arabic equivalent is *جفیع سانکھر*; see Munier, *Recueil*, 16 and other references in the index s.v. *H̄φαιστος* (p. 70); Bonnet Bey quotes places named Sanhūr in the Western Delta and the Fayyūm, but neither he nor any other geographer alludes to the Sanhūr near Tanis corresponding to the above-mentioned *CYNQwp*; this occurs, however, in one of the two lists of *kirah* given by Makrizi (Maspero & Wiet, I, 107, 174). [403] □ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 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confused with it in writing; the nome-list on the reconstructed temple of Sesostris I still distinguishes the two place-names clearly and correctly. Mendes was superseded by Thmuis as capital of the nome which the Egyptians described as  'the Fish-nome' (No. XVI), and which the Greeks called ο Μενδήσιος (Hdt. II, 166 and often; also ibid. a Θρουέτης which is superfluous and clearly a mistake). On both towns see further the elaborate articles by Kees in Pauly-Wissowa. The god of Mendes is always described by the Greeks as a goat (*τράπεζος*, Hdt. II, 46) and so too is depicted on the coins; but in most depictions, especially the rare early ones, he is the hairy long-legged ram with horizontal horns (*Ovis longipes palaeoaegyptiacus*), which became extinct in the Middle Kingdom (Scharff, loc. cit.); earliest example of this ram-god in connexion with the town on an alabaster jar of the reign of Yeti (Dyn. VI), Mar., *Cat. d'Abydos*, 11404; so too again under Ammenemes I, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, Pl. 2; he is always credited with great generative power. The explanation given by Keimer, and before him by Dürst and Gaillard, for the Greek interpretation of this animal-god as a goat — note that he is only rarely depicted anthropomorphically (Lanzoni, *Diz.* Pl. 57) — is that in late times no sheep was known having horizontal horns like the early Egyptian ram, whereas goats were well-known with such horns, see *Ann. Serv.* XXXVIII, 305, n. 2; 313. The fish-goddess who gave her name to the nome and was the associate of the ram-god was named   *Hst-mhyt* 'Chief of Fishes', for whom numerous references are given *ZAS* XLVII, 113.

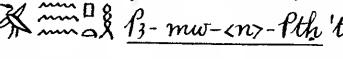
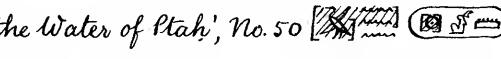
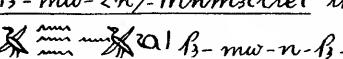
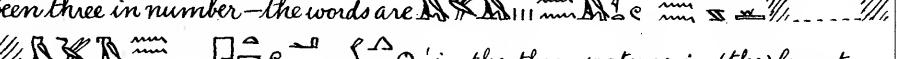
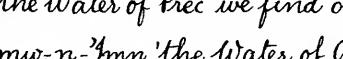
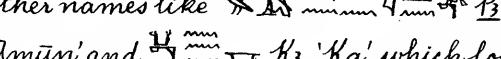
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The Delta branches of the Nile.

Les branches du Nil sous la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie in Bull. Soc. roy. géogr. Ég. XVI (1928), 225 ff., 293 ff.; XVII, 81 ff., 189 ff.; XVIII, 169 ff., but the hieroglyphic data there quoted are exceedingly meagre, and the value of the rest is beyond the judgement of any except experts with intimate knowledge of the terrain; the detailed treatment in this work stops short with the eastern Delta, and the starting-point is a fantastic interpretation of stela No. 2 at Tûrah, Ann. Serv. XI, 257 ff.; this was dedicated by an Overseer of Works Minmosé who lived under Thutmose III (mentioned already above under No. 258), and various deities of widely separated towns are depicted; Daressy advanced the theory that each of these deities exercised authority over a separate channel of the river, but a statue of the same man discovered at Medamoud (Drioton, Fouilles de Médamoud (1926), 52 ff., quoted in Daressy's first article, p. 224) makes it quite clear that they were merely the deities in whose temples he had made repairs or additions. Daressy also printed in Rev. Ég. anc. II, 20 ff. an article of somewhat similar character on the mouth of the Canopic branch.

In this preliminary survey we need consider only those Pharaonic documents which more or less clearly name several of the main branches of the Delta Nile. From these documents may be eliminated one in the temple of Hurnah (a) and one in the tomb of Ramesses III (b) upon which, for want of better evidence, Brugsch laid great stress in his Geogr. Inschr. I, pp. 80 ff. with Pl. 12; for bibliography of (a) see Porter & Moss, II, 141 (6)–(8); of (b) see op. cit. I, 15, under Room G. Here, it is true, we encounter names like  and  found elsewhere in various contexts, but principally in Graeco-Roman nome-lists, as names of the so-called  of the various nomes; the meaning of that term is still only vaguely defined, but since each nome had a different phew, a phew could at best be only

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part of a single branch, not its full length. Real designations of the various branches are, however, undoubtedly given at the end of a procession of figures in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos, see Mar., Abydos, I, Pl. 14 = Düm., Geogr. Inschr. I, 92; here the nomes of Lower Egypt (Nos. 23–34) are followed by various personifications and names of phew (Nos. 38–48) and lastly by the designations in question; these are, in order, No. 49  'the Water of Ptah', No. 50  'the Water of Menmaatre', i.e. of Sethos I, No. 51  'the Water of Pre' and No. 52, destroyed. In On. Am. 'the Water of Pre' (No. 408) is preceded by '(the) Western River' (No. 406) and '(the) Great River' (No. 407), and it is impossible to doubt that there too three main branches of the Delta Nile were intended. A Ramesside ostracon in my possession, of which the relevant portions have been published JEA X, 92, actually affirms the Delta branches to have been three in number—the words are  'in the three waters: in (the) great River, [in the ..... and] in the Water of Hwt-wrt (Avaris)! Of the six different names above mentioned four occur in the dockets of wine-jars from the Ramesseum (ZÄS LVIII, 25 ff.), where they indicate the localities where the vineyards were situated; but there in addition to 'the Western River', 'the Great River', 'the Water of Ptah' and 'the Water of Pre' we find other names like  'the Water of Amun' and  'Ka', which look as though they too might designate branches of the Nile or parts thereof; 'Ka' I have compared to the Αγαθοδαιμών of Ptolemy, one of two names given by him to the Canopic branch, JEA V, 257, n. 1.

Before discussing the above names, we must glance at the

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statements of the Greek writers, and principally at those of Herodotus. Though he, like most of his successors, enumerates seven mouths (II, 17), he once (II, 10) substitutes the epithet πεντάστοφος 'five-mouthed' for the usual Ἑπτάστοφος 'seven-mouthed', and the number five is further reduced to three by his indication that the Mendesian and Saitic (i.e. Janitic according to many, including Ball) split off from the Sebennytic — note that he uses the word στόφα for both 'mouth' and 'branch'; the Bolbinitic and Bucolic mouths, completing his five to seven, he says were not genuine, but artificially dug. The easternmost branch he calls the Pelusian, and the westernmost the Canopic, since they debouched at Pelusium (El-Farama; 40 km. SE. of Port Said) and at Canopus or Canobus (about 30 km. NE. of Alexandria) respectively. Concerning the Sebennytic branch he says that it provides 'not the smallest portion of the water nor yet the least notable', and the litotes here employed conveys unequivocally, as it seems to me, that in his time the Sebennytic branch was that which possessed the greatest importance. Thus eliminating the Mendesian, Saitic, Bolbinitic and Bucolic branches, Herodotus is left, like On. Am. and my hieratic ostracon, with three main branches, his being named, from E. to W., the Pelusian, the Sebennytic and the Canopic. Among later authors, Ptolemy is the writer who gives the most valuable account, since he names the positions of a large number of towns in relation to the six branches differentiated by him (Ball, op. cit. 124 ff.), and it is noteworthy that, following Strabo, XVII, 1, 16, he accords the title 'Great River' (*Mέγας Ποταμός*) to his westernmost branch, that which Strabo, in agreement with Herodotus, describes as flowing into the sea near Canopus, but which for Ptolemy debouched by the Heracleotic mouth — the name is not mentioned elsewhere; we have seen that Ptolemy

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gives Ἀγαθοδαιμών as an alternative name.

Ball (op. cit. 23) emphasizes the extreme difficulty of tracing the course of the ancient Delta branches, which were constantly changing their course. Nothing could be more precarious than to assume the same conditions for Ramesside times as for the age of Herodotus, and yet that is what, in default of better testimony, we are compelled to do. These considerations must be borne in mind in connexion with the identification by Brugsch (DG 85f.) of the 'Great River' of the Delta with the Μέγας Νοραῖος of Ptolemy. Although in company with others (see Gauthier, I, 119) I was formerly inclined to accept that identification (JEA V, 130), it now appears to me conceivable that the Δ  ḥt-r-3 'Great River' of On. Am., as also of earlier times, may not have been the same branch as is termed 'It-r-3' in the latest Graeco-Roman inscriptions (see below, p. 166\*, ll. 18 ff.); in any case, if Herodotus was right in viewing the Sebennytic branch as the most important in his day, that branch surely has a better claim to be equated with the Ramesside 'Great River' than the Canopic branch, to which the epithet may not have been transferred much before the time of Strabo. No significance can be safely accorded to the position in On. Am. between the other two, since on the ostraca 'the great River' is the first of the three branches which were named when the stone was complete. More weight may perhaps be allowed to the fact that, while 'the Water of Prec' is definitely known to have been the name of the easternmost Nile-arm, the third member of the trio was called 'the Western River'. The latter name seems to speak for itself, and if interpreted literally, could only, as it would appear, refer to the Canopic branch or some earlier equivalent. In that case the Ramesside 'Great River' would necessarily have

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occupied an intermediate position like that of the Lebennytic branch in classical times.

The above-mentioned terms 'the Water of Prēc', 'the Water of Ptah', and 'the Water of Amūn' name the three great gods of Ramesside times, and the parallelism of the terms suggests that the second and third may not have been much inferior in importance to the first. Further, the branch called 'the Water of Prēc' lay on the side where Heliopolis was situated, and it is not improbable, therefore, that 'the Water of Ptah' belonged, like Memphis, the city of Ptah, to the west. Mention must here, however, be made of a  -  -  -  -  -  temple of Ptah-Tenen on the bank of the River' (*sic*, from the drawing there seems no room for any further sign such as  on a shrine dedicated by King Nekhtharkhebe (Naville, *Bubastis*, Pl. 46); the parallelism of this with a 'temple of Prēc of Ramesses of the Water of the sun' recorded beside it on the same shrine (see *JEA* V, 257) makes it probable that this temple of Ptah was situated in the Delta, a conclusion that recalls the Pi-Ptah ('House of Ptah') No. 402 above. For 'the Water of Amūn' I can suggest only some connexion with Sambehdet, the former Behdet and the present-day Tell el-Balamūn or at least in its near neighbourhood (below, No. 413); as I have shown *JEA* XXX, 33 ff., the south-north dimension of the Delta was reckoned as 20 itr (schoeni) from Pi-Haçpy (Atar en-Naby near Old Cairo, see above, No. 397) to Behdet, and the very word itr suggests measurement by river; on this showing 'the Water of Amūn' might have corresponded to Ptolemy's Busiritic branch, which debouched near the modern Damietta.

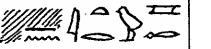
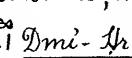
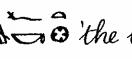
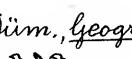
It is tempting to regard the branches in the Abyduslist, on the

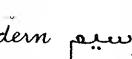
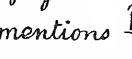
On. Am. Nos. 405-6 Pr-w-fr-nb-'fr-imny

ostracon, and in On. Am. as in substance identical, and as varying only as regards the names. However, against this view militates the fact that some wine-jars mention 'the Western River' and some 'the Water of Ptah', so that these are unlikely to have been the same branch. Similarly, 'the Great River' is mentioned once on a wine-jar, and for that reason 'the Water of Amūn', named thrice according to Spiegelberg, may well constitute a separate branch, possibly the fourth destroyed branch of the Abydus series. I have argued elsewhere (*JEA* X, 92) that 'the Water of Avaris' may be identical with 'the Water of Prēc'; however, there are objections to this view, which are set forth below under No. 408. For determining the position of 'the Water of Menmacrē' we have no evidence whatsoever.

In conclusion, the speculative character of the conjectures set forth above cannot be too strongly emphasized. For definite conclusions fresh evidence is indispensable.

**405-6** continued from p. 153\*. The general discussion of the Delta branches of the Nile disclosed the possibility — not amounting to probability — that 'the Great River' of Ramesside times might have corresponded approximately to the later Lebennytic branch; in that case there would be no difficulty in equating 'the Western River' with the later Canopic branch. On the other hand, if we accept the identification of 'the Great River' with the Μέγας Ποταμός of Ptolemy, i. e. with the Canopic branch, then inevitably we must either (1) regard 'the Western River' (*a*) as synonymous with or (*b*) as part of, this 'Great River', or else (2) find a position for it still farther to the West. (1a) Gauthier, I, 118 quotes as oldest mention of 'the Western

River' the following titles of the mayor of This, Min:  '..... of the Great River, commander of the army of the Western River' (Thebes, tomb 109; Urk. IV, 981); hence he strangely deduces the identity of the two branches named, but surely it would be much more rational to deduce the exact opposite. It is true that on the Ramesseum wine-jars 'the Great River' is named only once, while 'the Western River' is of rather more frequent occurrence (ZAS LVIII, 29); on the wine-jars from El-Amarna, both unpublished and published (Petrie, Tell el-Amarna, Pl. 22, Nos. 4.11.15.16) 'the Western River' occurs very often indeed, while, so far as I can see, 'the Great River' is not mentioned at all. But this does not suggest, let alone prove, the identity of the two, and the separate mentions in On. Am. are surely decisive on the point. (1b) The very slight and ambiguous evidence we possess with regard to the position of 'the Western River' refers to districts very far apart, and therefore it is difficult to see in 'the Western River' a restricted portion of the Delta branch which, as a whole, was called 'the Great River'. The said evidence is as follows:  $\alpha$ , the reference to W-Sh here in On. Am.;  $\beta$ , the mention of  Dm-i-Sh 'Town of Horus' as on  'the bank of the Western River, south of Mafket' in an important late inscription, Ann. Ser. XVI, 226; and  $\gamma$ , a mention of 'the Western River' in the great Edfu nome-list. As regards  $\alpha$ , the difficulties of the text have been sufficiently emphasized on p. 153\*, but if the reading shown by G is correct, then we have to admit the presence of a district called W-Sh 'the Territory of Horus' in the near neighbourhood of 'the Western River'. The Graeco-Roman nome-lists (e.g. the great Edfu list, Rochem., Edfu, I, 330 ff.; Düm., Geogr. Inschr. IV, 108. 121. 126, a Denderah list) give W-Sh (,  with other variants) as name of

the 'territory' ( $\omega$ ) of the II<sup>nd</sup>, XV<sup>th</sup> and XX<sup>th</sup> Lower Egyptian nomes. Of these nomes the two latter lie in the eastern Delta, and consequently do not concern us here. The II<sup>nd</sup> nome, however, is that which had as metropolis Hm, the later Hm, Leketopolis and the modern  Ausim only about 13 km. NW. of Cairo (Gauthier, IV, 175; V, 45f.), and the W-Sh there located in the nome-lists may well be that under discussion, the more so since the position in On. Am. shortly after Heliopolis and Memphis, and before the mention of the three diverging branches, suggests a localization somewhere near the apex of the Delta. This conclusion we may accept, whether or no the text of On. Am. be correct. If it is correct, then we appear to have evidence that the 'Western River' flowed somewhere near Letopolis; to this, however, it is an objection that the great Edfu list (Rochem., loc. cit.), as well possibly as another inscription (see below, p. 165\*), names It-r  $\omega$  'the Great River' (below, No. 407) in connexion with Letopolis. With  $\beta$  we are on more secure ground. The town of Mafket is known (see Griffith, Tell el-Yahudiyeh, pp. 60 ff.) to have been Kôm Abu Billu near El-Terrânah on the edge of the western desert not 60 km. from Cairo, so that here we have 'the Western River' at another town of Horus which is neither Letopolis (see above) nor yet Damanhûr 70 km. farther to the north-west (see the sketch-map of the Delta, above, pp. 132\*). Thirdly ( $\gamma$ ) the great Edfu nome-list (Rochem., op. cit. I, 331 = Brugsch, DG 1369) mentions  '..... of (?) the Western River' as the 'river' (it-r) of the VII<sup>th</sup> nome, that of  'the Western Harpoon', and this nome, as sethe pointed out in his article on 'right' and 'left' (Nachr. Göttingen, 1922, 229, n. 2), undoubtedly lay far to the NW. of the Delta; the first sign in the above-mentioned designation is not easy to account for (see below under

No. 412), but it is undeniable that we here find 'the Western River' at no great distance from the Mediterranean. It thus follows from the combined testimony of  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ , to which that of  $\alpha$  may possibly have to be added, that 'the Western River' comprised a very large stretch of river between Cairo and the sea, and consequently cannot have been the name of a restricted portion of 'the Great River'. (2) Grenfell, influenced no doubt by what I had to tell him concerning the hieroglyphic evidence, accepted the view that 'the Great River' was the Canopic branch, and therefore put the question (JEA V, 130 f.) whether 'the Western River' might not have been a high-water canal corresponding roughly to the Khatatbiyah and Nubariyah canals leaving the Nile near the modern Barrage and ending at Alexandria. This, I think, is the alternative that would have to be accepted if 'the Great River' turned out to be the Ramesside equivalent of the Canopic branch, but the evidence quoted both above and below admits of no final decision; we have found 'the Western River' far to the north and the west within the VIIth nome, but there is no means of denying that this nome may have extended as far as Canopus. Brugsch, DG 719 f. conjectured that  $\text{mn} \text{ } \text{gnp}$ , mentioned once in connexion with the VIIth nome (Mar., Dend. IV, 75, 10<sup>1</sup>; see too Bissing's ingenious note ZÄS LXXII, 79), was a writing of the Greek place-name *Kávwbos*, Canopus, though the Egyptian equivalent was Pr-gw3ti, found in demotic only, Spiegelberg, Priesterdekrete, p. 221, No. 482; however, this guess is too uncertain to be of great service. The only remaining Pharaonic testimony to the existence of 'the Western River' known to me is a possible mention in the great Harris papyrus (51, a, 5; 51, b, 5), where the writing  $\text{mn} \text{ } \text{gnp}$

<sup>1</sup> Daressy, Rev. Eg. anc. II, 50 quotes the same sentence with tiny variations as from Hibis in the Oasis of Khargah, but gives no reference. Is this a duplicate text, or has Daressy made a mistake?

is obscure, but hardly likely to have been read '’It-r-imnty'. Lastly, for the Coptic Φiapo nement 'the Western river-branch' mentioned by Gauthier, Crum refers me to Hyvernat, Corpus, XL III, 225, infra = Amelineau, 526, n. 2, a passage containing two unidentified place-names, remarking that  $\text{ia}$ po suggests a genuine river-mouth and that 'canal' would probably have been represented as  $\text{op}$ . To sum up, the additional evidence above adduced has brought us but little nearer to a decision whether '’It-r-imnty' 'the Western River' was the Canopic branch or a canal that lay farther to the west. My own opinion, or it may be prejudice, is in favour of the former alternative. [407]  $\text{I} \text{ } \text{a} \text{ } \text{m} \text{ } \text{n} \text{ } \text{t} \text{ } \text{c} \text{ } \text{G}$ , ’It-r-ə 'the Great River', here name of one of the three main Delta Nile-arms, hitherto usually considered the equivalent of the Μέγας Ποταμός of Ptolemy, which is admittedly the Canopic branch (Ball, 124 ff.); so Brugsch, DG 85 f.; Gauthier, I, 119; myself, JEA V, 130; now, mainly for the reasons stated above, pp. 153\* ff., I incline rather to regard the Ramesside 'Great River' as a central arm corresponding to the later Sebenytic. Three uses of the compound '’It-r-ə' have to be distinguished: (1) as a general term for the whole or the main course of the Nile; (2) as name of limited reaches in Upper or Lower Egypt; and (3) as name of one of the main Delta branches. References for (1) will be found in Wb. I, 146, 17; thus in Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, 25, 23. 33 it is said that the king 'divided the great river over its back'; naturally the writer had in mind only the portion nearest to the Oryx nome, but the term he used signified the entire main course of the river; this employment continued down to Coptic times, when  $\text{s} \text{e} \text{le} \text{po}$ ,  $\text{b} \text{ia}$ po not only was the commonest designation of the Nile, but also was extended to other great rivers like the Euphrates and Danube (Crum, 82). (2) Less easy to explain

is the use of 'Itr-*o*' as specific name of the ~~—~~ *mr* 'channel' of particular nomes: of the IVth of Upper Egypt (*Düm. Geogr. Inschr.* III, 65, in a Denderah list; Rochem., *Edfou*, I, 338); of the VIth Upper Egyptian nome (*Düm.*, op. cit. III, 69, in the same Denderah list; at Edfu, Rochem., op. cit. I, 339 and also possibly Chass., *Edfou*, IV, 144); of the IInd Lower Egyptian nome (Rochem., op. cit. I, 330 where the initial heading replaces the word ~~—~~ *mr* 'channel' by ~~—~~ *itr* 'river'; here the Denderah text, *Düm.*, op. cit. IV, 108, substitutes ~~—~~, the reading of which is obscure); finally, of the supplementary district or nome of ~~—~~ between Heliopolis and Memphis discussed above under Nos. 394-394A (Chass., op. cit. IV, 39 = V, 24). Gauthier, I, 119 states that 'Itr-*o*' is found as a variant of the name of the ~~—~~ *mr* of the VIIth Lower Egyptian nome, but he gives no reference, and I have failed to verify the statement. The meaning of the term ~~—~~ in these late lists is not clear. From the great Edfu nome-list the piece of water in question would appear to be that in which the sacred bark of the nome was moored, and it is possible that, if that water was in some cases the Nile and in others a canal, the term 'Itr-*o*' might have been reserved for cases where the Nile itself was meant. This explanation is, however, not very satisfactory, and it is also possible that the ~~—~~ was always a reach of the Nile, never a mere canal; in that case 'Itr-*o*' might be the term used for those reaches which had not a special name of their own. In the Delta a new difficulty arises: here there were several main branches; was then the term 'Itr-*o*' used indifferently for any of these, the simple *itr* being reserved for subsidiary branches or canals (cf. Crum's remark above, p. 163\*, top), or was 'Itr-*o*' confined to the greatest of the main branches? In Ramesside times, as we

have already learned from On. Am., 'Itr-*o*' was certainly employed as specific name of the greatest of the main branches, and the same use is exemplified in Ptolemy's *Méyās Πτολεμός*. Side by side with this, however, there appears to have been a wider use, a fact vouched for not only by the Coptic, but also, it would seem, by the presence of 'Itr-*o*' not only in the westerly IInd Lower Egyptian nome, but also in the easterly supplementary district of ~~—~~, see above. In such circumstances it is, of course, extremely difficult to decide in any individual example whether the wider or the narrower meaning was intended. For Graeco-Roman times the problem is well-nigh hopeless with our present resources, and only two more pieces of evidence will be cited. One of these is an Apis stela of the reign of Ptolemy VII (Brugsch, *DG* 87; *ZÄS* XXII, 125) speaking of the bull as having been born 'in the Town of Horus (*p<sub>3</sub> dmi n hr*) which is within the nome (*t<sub>3</sub>*) of ~~—~~ to the west of the Great River ('Itr-*o*'); here 'Town of Horus' has usually been taken to be Damanhūr, but in *JEA* XXX, 36 I have produced grounds for thinking that ~~—~~ is merely a variant of ~~—~~ 'Iyt' 'Iyet', an alternative name of *Hm* (later *Shm*), Letopolis, the modern Ausim (for 'Iyt' see Gauthier, I, 38). On this stela 'the Great River', being used to locate 'Town of Horus', looks like a genuine proper name, and it thus appears to follow that 'the Great River' at this time flowed only a little to the E. of Ausim. We have seen that in the great Edfu nome-list 'Itr-*o*' 'the Great River' was the name of the ~~—~~ of the IInd Lower Egyptian nome, of which Letopolis-Ausim was the capital. But Ausim (see above, p. 161\*) lies at the very edge of the western Delta only 13 km. from Cairo, and if 'the Western River' ('Itr-imnny) extended thus far towards the apex of the Delta, it must likewise have flowed very near that town, if indeed it

did not coalesce with 'the Great River'. If, moreover, the text of On. Am. in Nos. 405-6 is correct, we should have (provided my argument is sound) 'the Western River' explicitly brought into connexion with the II<sup>nd</sup> Lower Egyptian nome. A possible explanation of these facts is that at the latitude of the II<sup>nd</sup> nome 'the Western River' had not yet separated from the main course of the Nile, so that 'Western River' and 'Great River' may at that level have been alternative names for one and the same reach. But here my second piece of Graeco-Roman evidence intervenes to cause further embarrassment: in a nome-list at Denderah the entry attached to the III<sup>rd</sup> Lower Egyptian nome, that of which  'Imu', the modern Kom el-Hisn (see below, under No. 409), was the metropolis, gives as the characteristic piece of water belonging to the nome  'Put which comes forth from the Great River ('It-r-c3)', see Diüm, op. cit. III, 17. Kom el-Hisn lies far out to the west, only 32 km. SE. of Damanhūr; consequently we now find, early in the Roman period, 'the Great River' in close connexion with one of the westernmost nomes very considerably further N. than the Letopolite area, and it looks as though already in this Denderah nome-list 'the Great River' had the meaning which has to be assigned to Ptolemy's Μέγας Ποταμός. (3) I now turn to the evidence for 'It-r-c3' as name of the greatest of the Delta branches in the Ramesside period and earlier, as attested by On. Am., by the passage in the tomb of Min quoted under Nos. 405-6 (p. 160\*), and by the mention on a single wine-jar from the Ramesseum (p. 155\*). Is there any further testimony to this use? A stela of Dyn. XVIII in the Musée Calvet at Avignon (*Rec. trav.* XXXII, 154 ff.) belonged to a  'mayor of the Great River, Nebsamun', where 'It-r-c3' must obviously be the name of a restricted area. Again,

in the great Karnak inscription of Menephtah (l. 19, see Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, I, Pl. 20) the Libu and their Mediterranean allies are said to have 'penetrated into the fields of Egypt'; the text then continues  'the Great River awaited them'. Here the context suggests that the reference is to the first great water barrier encountered by the enemy approaching from the west, but there is no clue as to whether 'It-r-c3' is used as a proper or as a general name. In his geographical dictionary Brugsch made considerable use of the mentions of 'It-r-c3' in Harris, but three of these (10, 7.9.10) were misinterpreted by him, as they were also by Breasted (*Ancient Records*, IV, § 223; see *JEA* V, 254); suffice it here to say that in each of the three examples 'It-r-c3' is the name of a particular branch of the Delta Nile in the neighbourhood of which was pastured a herd of cattle belonging to the estate of Amun; in 10, 8  'the Water of Prec' is similarly used, and the antithesis of this and 'It-r-c3' proves that here the latter is employed exactly as in On. Am.; unfortunately no clue is given to the position of the arm of the Nile so named. The fourth mention in Harris is in the passage describing how Egypt had suffered in the past at the hands of the Libyans (16, 11 - 17, 2); it is told how

the Libu and the Meshwesh had been settled in Egypt, and had seized the towns of the western tract from Memphis to Karobana; they reached the Great River on every side of it; they it was who despoiled the towns of the Xoite nome during the very many years they were in Egypt.

It will be shown below under No. 414 that  in the above-translated lines is the name of the town of Xois and here, since 'towns' in the plural is used in connexion with it, signifies the Xoite nome, which lay well to the E. of the Canopic branch. Whether,

however, this lends any additional weight to my suggestion that the Rameside 'Great River' may have corresponded to the later Sebennytic branch is very doubtful. A final passage which some might consider to have a bearing on the present problem is that in the story of the Blinding of Truth, where mention is made of a fabulous bull, clearly an allegorical image for Egypt, which 'if it should stand in the Island of Amun (i.e. Diopolis Inferior, the modern Tell el-Balamun, below, No. 413), the tuft of its tail would rest upon the papyrus-marshes (B-tuf, below, No. 418).... and its place of repose would be the Great River'; P. Ch. Beatty II, q. 2-4. It would, however, be extremely rash to base any argument on this piece of fiction. To conclude, the above lengthy survey of the evidence has not substantially modified the tentative judgement reached already on p. 154\* and restated at the beginning of these comments on No. 407.

408  G, B-mw-

n-B-Re 'the Water of Pre<sup>c</sup>', the name of the easternmost of the three branches of the Nile in the Delta, see above, pp. 153\* ff. and Gauthier, III, 30. The evidence was collected and discussed in my article JEA V, 256 ff., cf. also op. cit. 197 f.; apparently no further example has come to light except one geographically uninstructive one in P. Wilbour, A, 51, 42. The only unambiguous and indisputable reference is Harris, 62, a, 2, where we find 'the House of Bast, lady of Bubastis' described as 'in the Water of Pre<sup>c</sup>'. There are, however, other expressions like B-rud n B-Re 'the Tract of Pre<sup>c</sup>', i.e. the eastern desert-edge, which, when taken together with the easterly position of Heliopolis, leave no doubt that 'the Water of Pre<sup>c</sup>' was the easternmost of the great Delta river-branches. In the time of Herodotus the branch which flowed past Bubastis debouched at Pelusium (El-Farama, 40 km. S.E. of

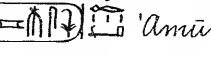
Textual Note. 408<sup>a-b</sup> For the rubric here see the comments on No. 409.

Port Said), whence it was called by him the Pelusian mouth, a name for which Stolemy substituted the term 'Bubastic river'. In my above-mentioned article I produced three passages (pp. 197 f., Nos. 35, 36, 37) which suggested that Pi-Racmesse lay beside 'the Water of Pre<sup>c</sup>'; but all these passages are somewhat dubious. It is certain, however, that a boat could in Rameside times travel directly from Pi-Racmesse to Heliopolis, see P. Leyd. 350, vs, discussed op. cit. p. 182, No. 8. These facts, combined with others, led me to the conclusion that Pi-Racmesse was situated in the neighbourhood of Pelusium. However, Montet's subsequent excavations at Janis convinced me that Pi-Racmesse had to be located there, not at Pelusium, see JEA XIX, 122 ff.; some scholars, on the other hand, prefer Hamza's view, based on his own excavations, that Pi-Racmesse should be identified with Kantar, 19 km. S. of Janis. On this vexed question see below under No. 410. In my later article I contended that Avaris, Pi-Racmesse and Janis were successive names of one and the same town, on which hypothesis, if the view that Pi-Racmesse lay beside 'the Water of Pre<sup>c</sup>' proved sound, 'the Water of Avaris' mentioned on an ostraca in my possession (see above, pp. 155\* f.) would have to be an earlier name of 'the Water of Pre<sup>c</sup>'. However, there is no reason to think that the main branch later known as Pelusian or Bubastic ever flowed beside Janis; Herodotus states plausibly, according to Ball, 26 f., that the Saitic (i.e. Janitic, see Strabo, XVII, 1, 20) branch was an offshoot of the Sebennytic; a canal might, however, perhaps have connected the Janitic and Pelusian branches. Possibly the indications that Pi-Racmesse lay on 'the Water of Pre<sup>c</sup>' may have to be abandoned. Thus for the moment no definite deduction can be made with regard to the lower reaches of 'the Water of Pre<sup>c</sup>'; in the absence of cogent testimony to the contrary we ought probably to assume that in

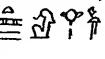
Ramesside times it debouched near Pelusium, as it did later. There confess to again varying the deductions drawn by me in earlier writings.

 'Imnt 'the West', the III<sup>rd</sup> Lower Egyptian nome, e.g. Rochem., Edfou, I, 330; Chass., Dend. I, 124; Düm., Geogr. Inschr. IV, 109. My present preference for the identification of the town in On-Am. with Nebeshah is based, less on the writing with , though this is no negligible argument, than on the rubricizing of the preceding B-mu-n-B-Re 'The Water of Pre<sup>c</sup>' (No. 408). This rubricizing, if not utterly meaningless, must signify that at this point began the names of places situated in the east of the Delta, which is true at all events of No. 410 and possibly also of No. 411. The town of  I'mt 'Imet' with variants , etc., is given in the Graeco-Roman nome-lists as the capital of  'the Lower Imet-nome', the XIX<sup>th</sup> of Lower Egypt in the final stereotyped order, e.g. Rochem., Edfou, I, 335; Chass., Dend. I, 125; its situation at Tell el-Farçün (Nebeshah) is demonstrated by a number of monuments found there by Petrie, see his Nebesheh [bound up with Tanis II], Pls. 10 ff. This inscriptional evidence is faithfully set forth by Daressy, Bull. inst. fr. XXX, 626, but only to reject the identification a few pages later in favour of Tell Muṣdām (Leontopolis), an amazing feat of inconsequence; Gauthier, I, 73 strangely regards the question as still open, and for Montet's similarly sceptical view see JEA XIX, 125. The goddess here was  Wdjt, Edjō, earlier Edjoyet, commonly called Buto, but on poor evidence, see JEA XXX, 55 and below, pp. 192\* f.; other deities of the place were Min and Harsomtus, Petrie, Tanis II, Pl. 10, top. Apart from the debatable present passage no example of the extended name Pr-nbt-'Imt has been quoted, nor is there any valid ground for calling

G, Pr-R<sup>1</sup> mssw- mry- 'Imn 'Pi-Ramessé, the frequently mentioned Delta residence-city of Ramesses II and his successors, now

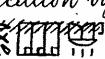
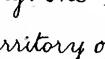
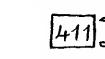
identified by some with Janis (below, No. 417), but by others with <sup>ج</sup><sup>ن</sup><sup>ي</sup><sup>ر</sup> Kantir, 19 km. S. of Janis, and 9 km. NNE. of Fakus. The passages referring to the city have been collected by me JEA V, 127 ff., 179 ff.; 242 ff., where a localization at the more easterly site of <sup>ج</sup><sup>ن</sup><sup>ي</sup><sup>ر</sup> El-Faramâ (Pelusium) was favoured. In a later article (JEA XIX, 122 ff.) I abandoned this view, which had been that of Chabas, as a result of the excavations at Janis by Montet; in the course of these excavations many references to Amûn of Ramesses, Ptah of Ramesses, etc., were found, and such having been the specific designations of the deities of Pi-Ramesses, Montet drew the natural conclusion that Brugsch's old identification of Pi-Ramesses with Janis was correct. This thesis has been repeated by Montet in a number of articles, as well as in his Nouvelles fouilles de Janis, pp. 66 ff., 164 ff., and in more recent books published in 1940 and 1942; most important of all, in Kêni, IV, 199, he published a block from the great temple of Janis bearing the name  'Amûn of Ramesses-mi-amûn, great of victories' with an epithet which is that always found in the name of Pi-Ramesses on monuments contemporary with its founder, see JEA V, 135 ff. Further arguments were adduced in my later article; one not hitherto used, but perhaps deserving of attention, is that in Harris, 62, a, 3, the temple of Ramesses III at Pi-Ramesses is said to be 'in the estate of Seth'; and though the great honour shown to other deities on the monuments of Janis tends to obscure the fact that Seth was its principal god, that fact is constantly receiving fresh support from the excavations there. Briefly stated, my final article on the subject (JEA XIX, 122 ff.) claimed that Avaris (Hut-wer, the Hyksos capital), Pi-Ramesses and Djacne (Janis) were three successive names of one and the same great northern city; Weill (JEA XXI, 17 ff.) agreed with the latter

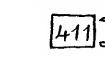
equation, though disagreeing as regards Avaris; Junker accepted my view in toto, see ZÄS LXXV, 83 ff. It is impossible to deny, however, that the separate mentions in On. Am. of Pi-Ramesses and Janis is a very formidable obstacle to their identification, however little reason we have found to accept the accuracy of that composition in every respect. For that reason alone it would be desirable to consider carefully any possible alternative. Such an alternative has been suggested by M. Hamza (Ann. Serv. XXX, 31 ff.), who had unearthed at Kantir the important remains of a palace and other buildings of Ramesses II, which continued to enjoy popularity until much later in the Ramesside period; for previous finds on the spot see Porter & Moss, IV, qf.; it is noticeable, however, that this settlement was not due in the first instance to Ramesses II, since the Louvre possesses or possessed a fine faience doorway of Sethos I. Conspicuous among the finds are glazed tiles and various noteworthy objects of faience, a number of which were acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and are published by W. C. Hayes in the Papers of that museum, No. 3 (1937). Hayes accepts Hamza's arguments in favour of identifying Pi-Ramesses with Kantir, and extends them in highly uncritical fashion. Hamza (p. 64) stated on very slender grounds that Amûn, Seth, Ptah, and Ré were prominent gods in both places; in Hayes' monograph (p. 7) this is transformed into the assertion that temples of these four gods existed at Kantir. Again, on the sole evidence of two moulds found at Kantir (Hamza, p. 61, fig. 15) Hayes maintains that 'Ramesses II appears to have celebrated his third and sixth jubilee' there. The only mentions of Pi-Ramesses on objects found at Kantir are the hieratic docketts on some wine-jars (Hamza, pp. 43 ff.), but all that these say is that the wine in question came from a vineyard to the west of Pi-Ramesses, and the same is written also on a wine-jar at Karlsruhe

thought to have come from the Ramesseum at Thebes (ZAS LVIII, 24); such evidence is as little capable of proving Janis's hypothesis as a claret-bottle from a London cellar could prove that London is identical with Bordeaux. Hayes (p. 8) dismisses the arguments in favour of Janis as 'purely philological'; if they were stronger they would be little the worse for that, but in point of fact they are based mainly on Montet's excavations. Newberry has unfortunately signified his approval of Hayes' conclusions, JEA XXV, 120f., but he is right in pointing out that no palace of Ramesses II has yet been discovered at Janis. But equally, so far as I can see, no traces of temples dedicated to the deities of Pi-Ramesses have been found at Kantar, though they exist at Janis. Nor indeed has proof been offered that Kantar was a sufficiently large or important place to qualify as the Ramesside Delta city of Residence. There seems just a possibility that the name of the palace at Kantar occurs on a scarab, formerly in the Carnarvon collection, which I published JEA V, 131; here mention is made of 'the Mansion of Ramesses-miamün (named)  Beloved-like-Atum to the west of the 'Ity-water', and it was made probable op.cit. pp. 258f. that 'Ity' was the name of that reach of the Nile-arm which passed Bubastis; however, we are here still at nearly 40 km. distance from Kantar and the presence of Atum in the name might suggest rather the neighbourhood of Heliopolis. The doubtful evidence that Pi-Ramesses lay on the Water of Prec (No. 408 above) must be borne in mind, but in view of the incertitude of the course of that branch of the river little use could be made of that datum in any circumstances. My final<sup>1</sup> verdict must, accordingly, be that the case for Janis, though of considerable strength, is not yet

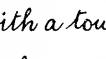
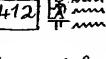
<sup>1</sup> Having wavered so much on this topic, perhaps it is a little bold of me to write 'final'. However, it seems unlikely that I shall again return to the subject.

strong enough to put Kantar entirely out of court; much confirmatory evidence in favour of Janis is required to outweigh completely the separate mentions of Pi-Ramesses and Janis in On. Am.; for Kantar, on the other hand, there is as yet little to be said except that the place possessed a palace of Ramesses II of some magnificence.

Postscript. At the last moment (1944) more information has come to hand which further tilts the balance of evidence in favour of Janis. In Montet's latest book on his excavations there (Paris, Payot, 1942) he publishes (p. 83, fig. 11) a block upon which a dedication by Ramesses II declares that he made a great temple of limestone  'to the north of the jubilee halls'; also a brazier found in the same place names Ramesses II as beloved of 'Harakhti in' and of 'the gods lords of' the jubilee halls, see Montet, Vases sacrés et profanes, in Monuments Pirot, 1941, p. 21, No. 390. This seems to indicate that Ramesses II celebrated one of his jubilees at Janis, and that he would surely not have done, had it not been his favourite capital. The argument gains in strength when it is remembered that a tomb at El-Kâb provides explicit testimony that Ramesses III celebrated his jubilee at Pi-Ramesses, see JEA V, 192, under (25). I will conclude with a suggestion that I do not consider in the least likely, but which others may think worth pondering. The 'Estate of Amun' () was none other than Thebes itself, a territory of vast area. So too Akhet-Aten, the city of Akhenaten, was of very great extent. If Ramesses II were trying to outdo all his predecessors, is it not conceivable that his city or 'Estate' () included Janis in the north, and Kantar in the south? However, I must repeat that any such solution of the problem is, in my opinion, extremely improbable.

411  G. Shrewsbury

'Shedheru', unknown elsewhere and of doubtful identification.

Golénischeff's suggestion (ZÄS XL, 105) of Sethroë, gk. Σεθρόη has tempted Gauthier (V, 151 f.) and myself (JEA V, 198), but rests, apart from the position in On. Am., solely on the sound; for e.g. Š = gk. σ, cf. Ἀρσαφής and Σούδακος for Hebr. *Sisak*, Egyptian Shoshenk, in Josephus. There is a rival theory, however: in ZÄS LXXV, 18 Junker has proposed to identify Sethroë with a town  *Stt* mentioned in a tomb of the early Fourth Dynasty; here again assonance is the main evidence, but Junker urged that the tomb-owner's other priesthoods were in the Delta and that the Seth named as lord of *Stt* must belong to the eastern Delta; also he quotes  *Stt* from a demotic list of towns. At present there is no sufficient ground for accepting either conjecture. The town of Sethroë (see Kees, s.v. in Pauly-Wissowa) was possibly identical with the Ἡρακλέους μικρὰ πόλις given by Ptolemy as capital of the Sethroite nome, this mentioned first in the Revenue Laws papyrus and named in almost all subsequent classical and post-classical sources (Gauthier, Nomes, Pl. 3; Munier, Recueil, index, p. 42, s.v. Σεθροίτης). According to Ptolemy this Heracleopolis lay to the E. of the Bubastic river, and the Antonine Itinerary places it exactly midway (at 22 Roman miles) between Tanis and Pelusium. Most scholars, e.g. Griffith in Petrie, Nebesheb, p. 103, n. 2, have recognized the town in the important mound called تل بليم Tell Belim, also named تل الشريق Tell esh-Sheriq, 28 km. due E. of Tanis, but Ball (p. 110 and p. 165, n.\*<sup>1</sup>) prefers to identify it with تل آيد Tell Ayid, 4 km. farther to the east. The coins of the Sethroite nome show as its god a warrior falcon-god who was doubtless the Horus of Tjet, see below, No. 419. 412  G, ndt, 'Andjet', rare alternative name of  *Ddw* 'Djedu', later   *Pr-Wsr-nb-Ddw* 'the House of Osiris, lord of Djedu', shortened to

Pr-Wsr 'House of Osiris' in Assyr. Pusru (Ranke, Keilschr. Mat. 49), gk. Βουσρίς (from Herodotus), Copt. <sup>B</sup>Boycipi (in the scalae, where the Arabic equivalent is given as بُسْر 'Būsir', see Munier in Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 231), the modern لِبْسِير لِبْسِير Abu Sir Banā, which is 5.5 km. S. of Samannud and immediately to the west of the Damietta branch; see Gauthier, I, 151 f.; VI, 135 f.; also Sethe, s.v. Busiris in Pauly-Wissowa. The ruins are described by Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes, I, 432 and Naville, Mound of the Jew, pp. 24 f. as extensive and with some ancient remains, but hardly any inscriptions; the identification is, however, confirmed by a fragment (Naville, op. cit. Pl. 7, B) bought in the village mentioning a Saite treasurer as 'honoured with the gods of Djedu' and preserving the words '....Osiris to his eternal place'. In Strabo, XVII, 1, 19 'the city Busiris in the Busirite nome' is followed immediately by Cynopolis, and both places occur together also in Pliny, N. H. V, 11. 64; Hierocles; George of Cyprus; above all in the Rylands list of bishoprics, where Busiris is equated with Abu Sir and كَوْنَوْ كَاتَو is rendered by تَبَكِي تَانَى, in Arabic لِبْسِير لِبْسِير Medinet Banā, see Munier, Recueil, 48 (cf. also op. cit. 3). For تَانَى see Amélineau, 84 f.; Maspero & Wiet, I, 49 f.; it is undoubtedly بَنَى Abu Sir, 3.5 km. S. of Abu Sir Banā and likewise just W. of the river; Wilkinson, loc. cit., speaks of Benneh (sic) as having 'the mounds of an old town, but no remains, and is now a small village, Abuoseer is larger'. Combining this information with that of Naville, it seems likely that Busiris was the village farther north; on this point Ball's book, 64, n. 5, quoting Gauthier, Nomes, 193 f., shows some hesitancy. We have no ground for identifying any of the known Pr-Inpw 'House of Anubis' (Gauthier, II, 57) with the Delta Cynopolis. So

return to the hieroglyphic names of Busiris:  Ddw, the best-known name, written  in the Pyramid Texts, where it perhaps occurs only once (288) — Sethe takes  in 719 as 'Busirite' — is there, as often later, differentiated from  Ddt 'Mendes' (see on No. 404); the references to Osiris, 'lord of Djedu' (Mar., Mast. 149, 214, 230, 259, etc.) go back no further than Dyn. V, but from that time onward are exceedingly frequent. That the temple of Osiris in Djedu was at certain periods a place of pilgrimage is shown by scenes at Beni Hasan (ed. Newberry, I, Pl. 16, Dyn. XII) and at Shebes (Tomb 147, unpublished, with a depiction of the temple, Dyn. XVIII); in these scenes the journey to Busiris is coupled with that to Abydos. The importance of Djedu is also reflected in the magician's threat, 'I will cast fire into Djedu and burn up Osiris', Pleyte & Rossi, Pap. Surin, 135, 10. None the less, except in religious and semi-religious texts, references are very rare. The most concrete is the statement of the already much mentioned Overseer of Works Minmose (temp. Thutmose III) that he executed work in the temple of 'Osiris, lord of Djedu', Drioton, Fouilles de Médamoud (1926), p. 54. In Picankhi, 18. 116, Libyan chieftains are in command of  'the House of Osiris, lord of Djedu', probably the two earliest instances of the town-name in this form. So too it is found in the Vienna fragments of the Petubastis story (Spiegelberg, Sagenkreis, p. 48) side by side (ibid. l. 14) with the shortened Pr-Wsir which served as basis for the Assyrian and Greek equivalents; in hieroglyphic Pr-Wsir alone is hard to find, but Louvre D11, quoted Brugsch, DG 1135, appears to be an example. The fuller form is given in the great Edfu nome-list (Rochem., Edfou, I, 332), where it is the capital of  cndt, the IXth nome of Lower Egypt, the Bouqîrits of Herodotus and of practically all other classical writers

(Ball, 122). The name of this nome occurs already Pyr. 182 with  as phonetic variant, and hence is derived the name of the god  cndt with the variant  Pyr. 220, where he receives the epithet 'pre-eminent in the eastern nomes'; on his identification with Osiris and for some rather speculative theories concerning him see Sethe, Urgeschichte, Index, p. 188, s.v. In some early examples (Davies, Stahhetep, I, Pl. 4, No. 22; Palermo Stone, vs. 3, 1; a later case, Mar., Abydos, I, p. 48) the feathers of the god of the nome are replaced by , which Griffith showed to be a representation of the bicornate uterus of a heifer (Proc. SBA XXI, 247f.; Kêmi, II, 83, with Pl. 3; see too the words discussed under D, l. 4 of the supplement to On. Am.); this appears to be a symbol of birth, being worn also by the goddess  Mshnt (personification of the birth-place, Wb. II, 148, 6ff.; depicted, Naville, Deir el Bahari, [II], Pl. 51); hence Griffith (loc. cit.) conjectured that Osiris Andjeti was 'the living king and a god of birth or generation', a view which seems incompatible with all else we know about Osiris and the kingship. The variant  Pyr. 220 seems to convey through its determinative the first hint that cndt properly designated a piece of water, perhaps that part of the Nile which ran through the nome, cf. the later Bouqîrits ποταμός (Ptolemy), and which in the Graeco-Roman nome-lists appears as the  mr 'channel' of the IXth nome (e.g. Düm., Geogr. Inschr. IV, 115, from Denderah; Chass., Edfou, IV, 28), the great Edfu nome-list substituting, however,   'the sea of Osiris'; Rochem., loc. cit. The same name cndt occurs as that of the  phw 'hinterland water' of the II<sup>nd</sup> Letopolite nome (op. cit. I, 330; Düm., op. cit. IV, 108; Chass., op. cit. IV, 23), though at all events

the <sup>X</sup>th nome of the Black Bull (capital, Athribis) must have intervened between the II<sup>nd</sup> and the IX<sup>th</sup>; even more curiously we found the same channel, or one written in the same way , in connexion with the VII<sup>th</sup> nome far in the north-west (above, p. 161\*). However these perplexing facts are to be explained, the character of Andt as a piece of water is further indicated by the determinative  here in On. Am. and in the similar writing below, No. 569, as also in the tomb of Ramesses III (Brugsch, Geogr. Inschr. I, Pl. 12, A) and in one variant among those quoted Nav., Sodth. II, p. 297 (ch. 125); cf. also the writing  on the hieratic stela Moret, Mus. Guimet, Pl. 64, No. 73—the divine name Osiris 'Andjeti' is not uncommon, for other examples see Spiegelberg in ZÄS LXIV, 14f.; Murray, Osireion, Pl. 9. It is difficult to find certain examples, such as that in On. Am. undoubtedly is, of Andjet as name of the town; but a probable one is on a late coffin-board in Vienna (Wreszinski, Äg. Inschr. p. 146, naming a prophet of Osiris, lord of  'Andjet', who was also 'prophet and nurse of Harpocrates in  Andjet'; and another possible one is in P. Cairo 58009 (in Golenischeff, Pap. hier. p. 49), 3, 11, where Osiris is termed both 'lord of Djedu' and 'lord of Andjet'; Roman date. Hdt. III, 59. 61 speaks of festivals at Busiris in honour of Isis; other details in classical writers relating to the place and its religious significance, see Sethe's article in Pauly-Wissowa. Down to the middle of the V<sup>th</sup> century at least Busiris retained some importance as an episcopal see, cf. Munier, Recueil, 19. 20. 'Wine of Andjet' is mentioned below in No. 569.

 413         G, B-iw-n

'Imn 'The Island of Amun' or 'P-a-n-Amun', the modern تل البالامون, Tell el-Balamūn, in the north-eastern Delta less than 5 km. W. of

the Damietta branch and almost exactly 20 km. from the Mediterranean, most of the intervening country being, however, under water; see Gauthier, I, 44, and for more detailed discussion my article JEA XXX, 41ff. B-iw-n 'Imn, occurring no more than five or six times and first mentioned under Thutmose III (Drioton, Fouilles de Médamoud (1926): Les inscriptions, p. 54, l. 22), is given by the great Edfu nome-list (Rochem, Edfou, I, 334) as the capital of the nome of  Bhd 'Behdet', that which in the latest nome-processions is called, after its most important town,   Sm3-Bhd 'Sambehdet', the XVII<sup>th</sup> nome of Lower Egypt. Whether B-iw-n 'Imn and Sambehdet were on exactly the same spot is not definitely proved, but is probable. On the one hand Sambehdet is made likely to be Tell el-Balamūn by Flaminian remains on the spot (Edgar in Ann. Serv. VIII, 241), and on the other hand the name Balamūn is in all probability derived from B-iw-n 'Imn, as first proposed by Spiegelberg, Handglossen, 35, with n. 3; confirmation is given by the Rylands list of bishoprics (Munier, Recueil, p. 18, 28-9), where Διοσπολίς κατώ is equated with  πογνέμογ and with  El-Kalmūn, the last clearly a miswriting of El-Falmūn, this perhaps a mispronunciation of Balamūn. This Diopolis is alluded to by Strabo (XVII, 1, 19), as well as by Hierocles and George of Cyprus, and Διοσπολίτης κάτω appears as one of several Delta nomes on an ostraca (Milne, Theban Ostraca, No. 132); besides having coins of its own from the time of Hadrian. The name B-iw-n 'Imn in itself implies the cult of Amun as the principal god, and the Theban triad was worshipped at Sambehdet, though there another god must have been supreme before Dyn. XII, doubtless, as I have argued in the afore-mentioned article, Horus the Behdetite.

 414         G, undoubtedly to

Textual Note. 414<sup>a</sup> The hieratic here closely resembles the sign for 4000.

read

be P3-H3.suw, not (P3)-guru as hitherto supposed (Brugsch, DG 820; Gardiner, JEA V, 198, with n. 4; Gauthier, V, 210 f.) and consequently a mere variant of TT DS H3.suw 'Khasui' (Gauthier, IV, 155); cf. Tōis, Copt. <sup>B</sup>C̄woy (Amélineau, 410) and the modern lāw Sakhā (Maspero & Wiet, I, 103); in the middle of the Delta and fairly far to the north, 3 km. S. of Kafz el-Shékha and 24 km. SE. of Tell el-Farā (in Buto); Hogarth's map (Journ. Hell. Stud. XXIV, Pl. 1) marks the mound as of the first class, but no visitor's description is forthcoming; the monuments discovered there have been few, Porter & Moss, IV, 45. The equivalence of Sakhā with Xois is shown by the Rylands list of bishoprics (Munier, Recueil, 46), where Tew is followed by TBAKI cehwoy: lāw t̄iis Medinet Sakhā, cf. too the scala published Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 211; this indicates that subsequent to Ptolemaic times there was a metathesis of b and s. Xois, not mentioned by Herodotus, is described by Strabo (XVII, 1, 19) as 'lying in the interior above the Sebennytic and Phatnitic mouths' and as 'both an island and a city in the Sebennytic nome'; but Pliny (NH V, 9. 49) names, like several of his successors, a Xoite nome, and Ptolemy gives Xois as its capital between the Thermuthiac and the Athribitic rivers; for this and other classical authorities see the indexes in Ball, op. cit. and Gauthier, Nomes. The equivalence with Xois of TT DS H3.suw rests (apart from a monument published by Daressy and discussed below) solely on the component consonants, but this very persuasive evidence was accepted by Brugsch, DG 554 f.; Gauthier, IV, 155, though the latter author subsequently (Nomes, 151 ff.) lent countenance to Hommel's doubts, incidentally misquoting Sethe. Sethe had pointed out (Nachr. Göttingen, 1922, 236, n. 4) that the Palermo Stone (vs. 2, 2) places Pe (Buto) in the nome of the Desert-Bull TT DS, the VIth of Lower

Egypt, and arguing from the presence of the desert-sign w in the nome-name, as well as from the misleading contention that Müüs (M3-h3) 'the Raging Lion' was the god of the capital thereof, had concluded that the nome must have reached to the western desert; in Urgeschichte, p. 55, n. 1, however, he retracted this opinion without giving his grounds; op. cit. § 63, he still throws doubt on the identity of H3.suw with Xois. To turn now to TT DS, thus clearly written in the oldest known example (Harris, II, 2) Brugsch (DG 820) equated it with Pr-gwst, the demotic name of Canopus, but this opinion was disputed by Golénischeff in his earliest comments on On. Am., ZÄS XL, 104 f. In ZÄS XLI, 92 f. Golénischeff quoted the same name, written TT DS, from the Ptolemaic stela Louvre C 121, where the Theban triad Amen-Rē, Mut and Khons-p-shērē-Harakhti are given as lords of the place. The last of these deities occurs again on the much defaced stela of Ptolemy II at Turah (Vyse, Pyramids, III, pl. after p. 100), where he is styled 'lord of TT DS', the bull of the nome-symbol being either abbreviated or damaged (cf. Ann. Serv. XI, 265, n. 2); Rē here takes the place of Amen-Rē on the Louvre stela, and is accompanied by Shu and Iphēnis; with Rē the epithet is 'lord of TT DS', but Shu and Iphēnis appear to have been qualified in the same way as Khons-p-shērē-Harakhti. In Ann. Serv. XVII, 46 ff. Daressy published an almost illegible stela of Roman date actually coming from Sakhā itself, and on it he found the place-name TT DS with the epithet D3?w 'seat of Rē'; an epithet the equivalent of which is found several times in connexion with TT DS H3.suw or with its god Rē, who later became Amen-Rē: in Lepsius, Denkm. III, 234 = Guilmant, Sombeau de Ramsès IX, Pl. 48 it is said probably by Horus the Behdetite that Amen TT DS 'he gave the kingship to Rē in

Khasuu'; so too Hut-nayt-n-Re 'Mansion of the Kingship of Re' is given as an epithet of H3.suw in Chass., Dend. II, 134 (cf. also at Esna, Rec. trav. XXVII, 190, l. 52), and this name is found Düm., Geogr. Inschr. III, 45 in the shortened form Hut-nayt 'Mansion of the Kingship'; again in Düm., op. cit. IV, 112 St-nayt 'Seat of the Kingship' is apparently a synonym of Khasuu. Lastly, in the story of Horus and Seth, 15, 1, Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhti is said to have been sitting in council with his Ennead in P-khasuu; the writing there is nearly identical with that of On. Am., apart from the substitution of for the imperfectly made of the latter work, note particularly the definite article and the water determinative; indeed the resemblance is so striking as strongly to suggest the reading H3.suw for in interpreting which as guru the standard on which it rests has always been ignored and left unexplained. Of this at first sight somewhat startling equivalence a certain explanation is suggested, partly by the stelae quoted above and partly by the variants in ch. 125 of the Book of the Dead quoted in Naville's edition, II, p. 299, l. 22; here, beside we find among others , , and most significantly of all, an isolated ; taking all these writings into consideration it seems evident that they originated in the hieratic for , in reducing which to cursive hieroglyphs some scribes ignored the bull altogether, keeping only , while others combined the hieratic for and for into and reinterpreted this as ; lastly, the sculptor of Darnessy's very late stela retained and rejected . Thus (originally ) and are all identical, nome and capital of nome bearing the same name H3.suw. This explains the passage in Harris (translated above, p. 164\*), where it hitherto seemed strange that

a town named guru should have been in possession of other towns; we now realize that the correct translation is 'they (the Libyans) it was who despoiled the towns of the Xoite nome'. If next we ask what means, the answer perhaps is that this was simply a masculine noun (the  $\Delta$  of  $\Theta$  is meaningless) derived from hsat 'desert'; Sethe, Urgeschichte, 5186 quotes Dyn. XVIII copies (Gayet, Louxor, Pl. 12; Düm., Hist. Inschr. II, 36, d, both incorrect) of a very ancient text mentioning var. ih (?) hsaw 'the Desert Bull', and H3.suw might thus mean 'he of the Desert', with as determinative, though the inappropriateness of this name to an inland town is undeniable; the above noted determinatives of water , , recall Strabo's statement (also borrowed from him by Stephen of Byzantium) that Xois was a town as well as an island. The Egyptians themselves indulged in different explanations: in later times appears to have been regarded as a compound, the first element being the construct state of hsat, cf. Gauthier, IV, 160, and the second element the obscure divine name quoted by Wb. I, 289, 11 only from Leps., Elle, Pl. 1, b (so too Pl. 2, a); this emerges from P. Louvre 3079, 64 ff. (Brugsch, DG 1064), where it is said to Osiris 'thou approachest Khasuu that thou mayst be the bull on his standard in this thy name of Osiris Iu'. There seems also a play upon the name of the town in that of the territory ( $w$ ) of the VIth nome  $w$ ! W-hs(?)() 'Territory of the Unnamed (?)' (Düm., Geogr. Inschr. IV, 112; Chass., Edfou, IV, 26), if the reading suggested by the substitute in the great Edfu nome-list (Rochem., Edfou, I, 331) is correct, see on this point Gauthier, I, 192 f. The connexion of Osiris with H3.suw affirmed in the Louvre papyrus is confirmed by the list of local forms of Osiris in P. Brit. Mus. 10569, 8, 16, where the entry

**Osiris in Khasui** displays Xois among other cult-centres of the same god in the central and northern Delta, cf. 'all the gods and goddesses who are in Khasui', *ibid.* 10, 6. Nevertheless it is clear that the original and principal deity of the town was Rēc, after the Middle Kingdom superseded by Amen-Rēc; this is indicated by several passages quoted above, and the fact is accurately stated in the great Edfu nome-list (*Rochem, loc. cit.*) 'Rēc is there as Amān, the lion great of power (*ifyt*)'; Rēc occurs again as the representative god of the nome-capital also Chass, *Dend.* I, 131, though his identity with Amen-Rēc is there hinted at by the addition 'concealing (*imn*) his body from his children'. In an adjacent nome-list (*op. cit.* 125) Hathor of Denderah is identified at Xois with 'the daughter of Rēc who came forth from him'; this can be none other than Iphēnis, who was encountered together with her brother Shu on the Turah stela. Shu and Iphēnis are alluded to as belonging to the VIth nome in yet another Denderah text *Düm.*, *op. cit.* III, 18, and this may possibly help in a round-about way to explain Sethe's statement, described above as misleading, that the lion-god Miūsis was the god of Xois. That statement I believe to rest solely upon a Saite sarcophagus (*Mariette, Monuments divers*, Pl. 63, e; a better copy, Brugsch, *DG* 1026) discovered at Tell Mukdām, the ancient Leontopolis and probably the hieroglyphic *Ist-hnwt 'Ia-khenu'* (Gauthier, I, 31), some 19 km. NW. of Bubastis and more than three times that distance from Sakhā; the owner, a general whose name Pedemihōs reveals him to have been a native of Leontopolis, is here qualified as 'in honour with Miūsis (*m3-hs3*; 'Mihōs') the great of strength, lord of Khasui', as well as 'with Osiris the Double Lion, the great god, lord of Mansion of the Double Lion'; a certain Nesmihōs, possibly the same

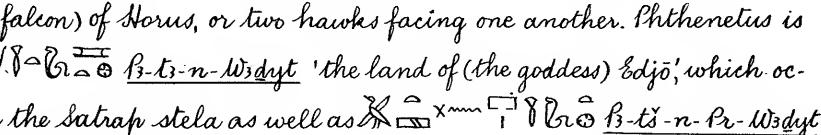
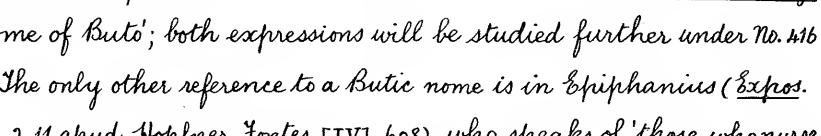
man's son, on his sarcophagus (*Mariette, op. cit.* Pl. 63, d) describes himself as 'prophet of Amen-Rēc, lord of Ia-khenu' and speaks of his employment in the temple of Miūsis. Since the epithet *Rwty* 'Double Lion' alludes to Shu and Iphēnis (*Wb.* II, 403, 10) it is plain that Xois and Leontopolis possessed the same gods, and the less surprise need be felt at finding a native of the latter town according the epithet 'lord of Xois' to his god Miūsis, that god being equated with Amen-Rēc. Brugsch, who read as *He* (?), was inclined, like Gauthier (IV, 14), to identify it with Leontopolis, but in view of what has been learned about the meaning of *H3 surw* and particularly in view of the variants quoted from ch. 125 of the Book of the Dead, we must follow Sethe (see above) in interpreting it as referring to Xois, though he went too far in generalizing so isolated an identification of the god of Leontopolis with the god of Xois. A statue published *Ann. Serv.* XII, 194 mentions 'Amen-Rēc, the great, residing in Khasui', where the determinative increases the probability that Xois was meant; here, according to the publication, is given to Amen-Rēc as companion, but perhaps the reading should be emended into the name of the Theban goddess Iyeneret; it is curious that this statue should have been found at Zawiyet *huzen* in the district of Menuf in the SW. of the Delta. In conclusion, here are one or two more references to Amen-Rēc as god of the VIth Lower Egyptian nome: *Düm.*, *op. cit.* III, 45; Brugsch, *Theo.* 624; Chass, *Mammisi*, 169; on coins he appears as a ram. 415 'Buto', lit. 'House of (the goddess) Edjo', lk. *Boutw* or *Boutos*, Copt. <sup>58</sup> Πούτο, Πούτων etc. (*Murier, Recueil*, 14, 49), the modern تل الفراعين <sup>كوه فراعين</sup> Kôm Sarâcîn in the Egyptian Survey maps, in the north-western Delta just N. of the village طبلة! *Ibtû* in which the ancient name survives; the site is 24 km. NW. of Sakhā (Xois) and

*Textual Note.* 415<sup>a</sup> As often, for 8.

Porter & Moss) is qualified as '[beloved of] Horus, avenger of his father, lord of Pe' (the same title Mrk. II, 19, 9); Gauthier (Ann. Serv. XXI, 29, with Pl. 2) publishes a Saite relief from the same site where one Harhotpe bears the perhaps otherwise unknown title 'In-the-horizon-(priest) of Horus of Pe'. Hogarth (Journ. Hell. Stud. XXIV, 3 f.) declared the ruins to be too extensive to belong to any city except Buto, and in 1904 Currelly made some trial excavations there, but found all the buildings of stone below water-level; as described by Petrie and Currelly (Petrie, Echnasya, pp. 36 ff., with views Pl. 43 and sketch-plan Pl. 44) there are two great mounds of Roman date separated by the temple approach, and these possibly represent the originally separate, but early combined, towns of 'Pe' and 'Dep' respectively (Gauthier, II, 35; VI, 90). Both are named a number of times in the Pyramid Texts, 'Edjo in Dep' being explicitly mentioned there (1671, cf. 1107), and in temple scenes from the Old Kingdom onwards (Borchardt, Sakurēc, I, p. 52) this cobra-goddess is constantly depicted as representative of Lower Egypt, regularly receiving the epithets 'of Pe and of Dep'. The pre-eminence of Horus at Buto doubtless dates from the time of the kings of Lower Egypt who reigned in Pe immediately before the First Dynasty, cf. especially Pyr. 1488. The religious significance of the town is fully treated in Sethe, Urgeschichte, see the Index, s.v. Buto. The connexions of Horus are rather with Pe than with Dep, see the examples above; also (e.g.) Budge, BD (1898), 231, 4 'Know ye why Pe was given to Horus?' and again in the text known as Que mon nom fleurisse 'Horus in Pe, Edjo in Dep', Pierret, Et. eq. 63; the same in a much earlier version, Davies, Tomb of Ken-amun, Pl. 45. Secular references, apart from titles like 'Mouth(?) of every dweller in Pe' (ZÄS XLII, 123) reminiscent of the predynastic kingdom, are not very frequent; Metjen was local

prince and administrator in Dep under Snofru, Sethe, Urk. I, 1ff.; the Palermo Stone, vs. 2, 2 (op. cit. I, 241) tells us that King Userkaf erected a temple and made endowments of land in  'Pe of the Desert-Bull nome', the VI th of Lower Egypt (see on No. 414); under Thutmose III the chief architect Minmose carried out constructions in the temple of  'Edjo, [lady of] Pe and Dep'; Drioton, Fouilles de Médamoud (1926), II, 54; on the stela recording the Adoption of Nitocris under Psammethicus I (ZAS XXXV, 18, l. 25) she is allowed 200 deben of bread from the temple of  Buto, hinting that at that time the temple there was of an importance equalled only by those of Sais and Athribis; the demotic story of Petubastis describes that king's opponent as a priest of 'Horus of Pe (in) Buto' (Pr-W<sub>3</sub>dyt), though possibly this may be mere fiction (Spiegelberg, Sagenkreis, pp. 8; 82\* under No. 562), and priests of the same god are mentioned in P. Rylands IX, see ed. Griffith, p. 100; at the beginning of the Greek period Alexander II gave a large tract of country to the gods of Pe and Dep, as we learn from the so-called Satrap stela (ZAS IX, 1ff.; Sethe, Urk. II, 11ff.), see further under No. 416. For Buto in the classical writers and for what Herodotus and others have to say about the town, its ceremonies, and the floating island of Chemmis therein see Sethe's article Buto in Pauly-Wissowa and my own in JEA XXX, 52 ff.; also Hoffner, Fontes, s.v. Buto in the Index of Vol. V, and similarly in the Index to Hall's book. At the Council of Ephesus in 431 A.D. Buto had its own bishop distinct from that of the neighbouring Phragonis (near Idah), see Munier, Recueil, 14, 6; 16, 34. Further literature on these localities, Amélineau, 105ff.; Maspero & Wiet, I, 22f., also the already cited article by Edgar in Ann. Serv. XI, 88ff. The name Buto as applied to a town, village or

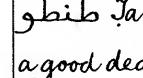
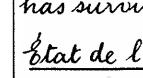
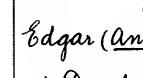
region must now be discussed historically and philologically. There can be no doubt that in On. Am. the town at Tell el-Farâ'in was meant, the neighbouring entries making this evident, but the name ought to have been written  'House of Edjo', a writing that would have distinguished it much more clearly from Nos. 365, 380, where the true etymologies are very different. There was a 'House of Edjo' in the X th Upper Egyptian nome, see the commentary on No. 362; also in the XX th Heracleopolite nome, see Rec. trav. XXXI, 35 = Mélanges Maspero, I, 724. In Lower Egypt it seems doubtful whether the 'House of Edjo, lady of Imet' at Tell el-Farâ'in (Nebeshah) was ever called in Greek Boutô, unless indeed that town was the Boutô in Arabia where Herodotus (II, 45) saw the remains of the flying serpents; see above on No. 409. Bell informs me there are hints of various other places called Buto in the Greek papyri. On. Am. perhaps gives the earliest example of Pr-W<sub>3</sub>dyt as substitute for the more ancient Pe and Dep; since no mention occurs in the Assyrian records, the occurrences in the Adoption of Nitocris and the Rylands papyrus are the next oldest; Hecataeus and Herodotus follow. Gauthier (II, 65) claims that Pr-W<sub>3</sub>dyt is recorded in the nome-lists of the Graeco-Roman temples, but I have found no better justification for this statement than the mention Düm., Geogr. Inschr. I, Pl. 43, No. 8 quoted above; however, there is an allusion to Pe in a supplementary district named  (reading doubtful, perhaps 'Idhw') that is once given at Edfu after Hyt (Behbêt) and before Behdet (Diospolis Inferior), see Chass., Edfou, VI, 47. It has been noted above that the Palermo Stone places Pe in the nome of the Desert Bull (VI), but of that nome Xois was the capital, at all events in later times. Herodotus (II, 165) names an otherwise unknown Xeppitys, and this can only refer to that

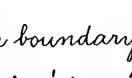
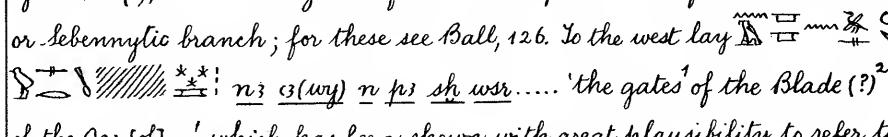
Chemmis which so greatly excited his admiration and which he, like Necataeus before him, located in Buto itself; Edgar (Ann. Serv. XI, 89), pointing out that the marshy ground to the E. of Tell el-Farâcîn may once have been a lake, temptingly proposed to recognize Chemmis in the village of Ḫ.ū Shâbah, 3 km. to the E. of Ibtâ, but this might well seem too far distant, see my article in JEA XXX, 52 ff., where I propose a very different explanation for the Chemmis of Buto. The lake just referred to was equated by Edgar with the Βουτικὴ λίμνη which Strabo (XVII, 1, 18) stated to lie in the path of one advancing from the Bolbitine mouth to the Sebenytic, and Ball (p. 22) agreed; the whole matter is very obscure. Ptolemy made Buto the capital of the nome of Phthenetus, mentioned also in Pliny (NH V, 9, 49), as well as on coins of Hadrian, these displaying the hawk (falcon) of Horus, or two hawks facing one another. Phthenetus is  'the land of (the goddess) Edjō', which occurs on the satrap stela as well as  'the Nome of Buto'; both expressions will be studied further under No. 416 below. The only other reference to a Butic nome is in Epiphanius (Expos. fid. III, 2, 11 apud Hoffner, Fonctes, [IV], 608), who speaks of 'those who nurse Harpocrates παρὰ τὸν Βουτικὸν ἡ αὐτὴν τὴν Βουτὶ τὴν πολίχνην beside the Butic (nome) or the village of Buto itself'; the description of Buto as a mere village is somewhat strange in a writer of the late fourth century, since very shortly afterwards, as we have seen, Buto possessed a bishop of its own. The rendering of the name of the goddess as Buto, i.e. like that of her town, rests solely on the authority of Stephen of Byzantium and should be abandoned; all other Greek writers use the equivalent Αγρώ. Formerly, as by Sethe in Pauly-Wissowa, Ido was thought to be the most appropriate vocalization of the name which

the hieroglyphs write W<sup>3</sup>dyt; but later he, in conjunction with Spiegelberg, showed (ZÄS LV, 91f.) that the -ou- of Buto belonged to the initial , cf. Bouβabris and the Bohairic πούρο for πόρο 'king'; and that the goddess's name was identical with the Coptic εξώ 'viper', though x had passed into t in the Coptic place-name ΠΤΕΝΕΤΩ 'the Land of Edjō' or 'of Eto', see above. Consequently, for the periods after the ending -yet had been shed, Edjō seems the most appropriate form in which to refer to the goddess, and it is even possible that the initial W, though written expressly in W<sup>3</sup>dyt (Pyr. 792), was non-existent in the word from the start; substantives from stems beginning with w often discard that consonant in Egyptian, as in Semitic, see Sethe, Verbum, I, §177; Erman, Aeg. Gramm. §180, Anm., nor is it unknown that variant writings, or those of the Middle Kingdom, should indicate that stem-radical, even if it was not pronounced; still the presence of in the above-quoted writing of the Pyramid Texts counsels caution, and the earliest pronunciation may, after all, have been Wedjöyet. However, the above remarks will have explained why, in my Map of Lower Egypt, PU-TO has been written and not P-UTO. [416]

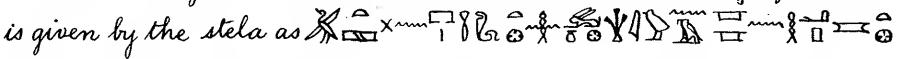
G, P(r)-s-i-t; 'P-si-to', very possibly the name of the narrow strip of land separating Lake Borollos (and perhaps also Lake Idku further west) from the Mediterranean, see Gauthier, VI, 1f., where, however, the author has failed to connect the present entry with that from the Satrap stela, there treated by him. That stela (Sethe, Urk. II, 11ff. = Brugsch in ZÄS IX, 1ff., cf. important comments by Wilcken, ZÄS XXXV, 81ff.) dates from the 7th year of Alexander II, and relates the exploits of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, as satrap ruling Egypt. The portion that

Textual Notes. 416<sup>a</sup> Probably for ~~¶~~ ~~A~~, see above, the Textual Note 105<sup>a</sup>. For ~~¶~~ as above in No. 371.

concerns us (ll. 4ff.) tells how the satrap's counsellors requested and succeeded in persuading him to renew a great gift, or rather restoration, of land which the Egyptian insurgent ruler Khababash had made to the gods of Buto. This gift consisted of the hinterland (*phuww*) called  *B-t-n-Wdwt* 'Ptenetō', lit. 'the Land of (the goddess) Edjō', which, the stela asserts (l. 8), had belonged to the gods of Re and Dep from very ancient times. Under No. 415 it has been seen that in Ptolemy's *Geography* the nome of Shthenetus included Buto as its capital and that it had been earlier mentioned by Pliny as well as on coins. In the IVth century it had its own bishop (Munier, *Recueil*, 3) and the Rylands list of bishoprics (op. cit. 46, 16f.) gives ΠΤΕΝΕΤΩ: ΤΑΝΑΤΩ:  Janatā. Amélineau (385ff.), who quotes it as ΠΤΕΝΕΤΩ and gives a good deal more information about it from the *scalae* and elsewhere, recognized with Quatremère, *Mémoires*, I, 356, that the Arabic name has survived in the town or village given as  Janatā by the *Etat de l'Égypte* (Sylvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, 643, No. 301), this being in the province of Gharbiyah and in the district of Desük; Edgar (*Ann. Serv.* XI, 88) adds that this is the present  كوم دانتا, better known as Kom el-Kebir, which is 8 km. SW. of Tell el-Farâcîn (Buto), Desük being 4 km. further away in the same direction. Thus Ptenetō, after being the name of a considerable region at a given moment separate from the region in which Buto lay, in the time of the geographer Ptolemy had become a nome with Buto as its capital; two centuries later it was the name of a town and episcopal see, and now survives merely as a small village with an ancient Kom. On the Satrap stela the limits of Ptenetō are elaborately defined (ll. 14-5) and it is there that P-si-to is named; in the following discussion,

intended to supersede that in J. de Rougé, *Géographie de la Basse Égypte*, 34.42f, the northern boundary formed by P-si-to is left to the last. The eastern boundary is given as  *B t3 n Ibt-ntr* 'the Nome of Ibt-nutep', i.e. Lebennytos Inferior or the province E. of the Thermuthiac or Lebennytic branch; for these see Ball, 126. To the west lay  *n3 c3(wy) n ps sh wr* .... 'the gates<sup>1</sup> of the Blade (?)<sup>2</sup>' of the Oar [of].... which has been shown with great plausibility to refer to the Canopic mouth of the Nile. The determinatives after the lacuna, given thus by Sethe in his *Corrigenda*, agreeing except in a tiny detail with a reading by Clédat from the original in Cairo, show that the preceding place-name had something to do with both water and the stars. This would well suit Canobos (Canopus), near the modern Abu Kir, on the coast 21 km. NE. of Alexandria, for the mythical personage who shared that name with the town was afterwards translated to the heavens as a star, Plut., *de Iside*, 22. According to the classical writers, the town was founded by Menelaus in memory of the steersman who brought his ship to Egypt on the return journey from Troy, and died in that place from the bite of a snake. The present passage has been brilliantly explained by Casanova in a learned article *Bull. inst. fr.* II, 1ff., adducing much interesting Arabic and other evidence, but using it with unequal success and judgement, see above on No. 5. As regards the point here at issue, he quotes the astronomer Abd er-Rahmân es-Sîfi as locating *Jifw Suhîl*, i.e. the star Canopus, α of the Constellation Argo (Navis), the southernmost star of the first magnitude visible

<sup>1</sup> For this word in connexion with the Nile see *Wb* I, 164, 24; 165, 1, and also below in the text in the indication of the southern boundary. <sup>2</sup> Brugsch suggested *Schläger* for this unknown word, connecting it with *sh* 'to strike'. The position of the signs speaks strongly against reading the word as *hs* and identifying it with No. 43 above.

in Egypt, طرف السکان التی 'on the extremity of the second oar', and Suhēl is explicitly marked in just this position by a mediaeval Arabic sphere reproduced in the plate accompanying Casanova's article and affording a striking illustration of the circular Zodiac from Denderah, likewise reproduced by him for purposes of comparison. It is clear that the oar mentioned on the Satrap stela must be the one mentioned in Casanova's sources, and that accordingly the Canopic branch of the Nile must have been meant. More could be written on this topic, but here it shall only be added that there are grounds for thinking that the ship later identified with the Argo was, as Plutarch (*ibid.*) somewhat obscurely informs us, originally considered as that of Osiris (cf. too in the decree of Canopus, *Urk.* II, 144), and that, as Casanova has not failed to note, the presence of the goddesses Satis and Anukis on the Zodiac behind the ship brings this story of Canopus into clear connexion with the topography of the First Cataract, where there is a well-known island bearing the name Suhēl. The southern boundary of Ptenetō is given by the stela as  p<sub>3</sub> t<sub>3</sub> n Pr-W<sub>3</sub> dyt hnc Wnw- mhy iw (= ε) n<sub>3</sub> c<sub>3</sub>(w) n Hcp<sub>3</sub>y 'the nome of Buto and Lower Egyptian Unu to the gates of Hacpy', and these words present some difficulties. For Buto and its otherwise hardly-mentioned nome see on No. 415. But do the next words imply that the Lower Egyptian Unu had a nome of its own or that it was joint-capital with Buto of a Butic nome? As Sethe points out in an admirable note (*Pyr.*, Commentary, I, 95 f.), a town called  Wnw is coupled with  Dp (Buto) on a very early relief (Louvre B1, see Weill, *Monuments*, Pl. 6), just as Strabo XVII, 1, 18 speaks of Hermopolis on an island in the neighbourhood of Butus. The analogy of

the 'Lower Egyptian Weset' or 'Shebes' () which is a name of Diopolis Inferior or Tell el-Balamūn, makes it reasonable to suppose that the Lower Egyptian Unu enjoyed the same cult as its Upper Egyptian counterpart (No. 377A above), that it was in fact a Hermopolis where Thoth or Hermes was worshipped; other hieroglyphic references to the place, Gauthier, I, 197.<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy records a Ερμοῦ πόλις μικρά in the country of the Alexandrines W. of the Great River (see on No. 407) and the position he indicates, particularly when calculated in its relation to Canopus (see Ball, 108), corresponds admirably to that of Damanhūr, with which it is identified in the Rylands bishops' list, where the entry is ερμοῦ κατω: παδιμενχωρ λυμνη:  'Damanhūr the Lake' (Munier, *Recueil*, 45, 37-9); if, as seems likely, λύμνη is here really an epithet of Damanhūr (Munier, 52, does not regard it as such), one is reminded of Strabo's statement that Hermopolis was situated on an island. There are good grounds, however, for refusing to identify Hermopolis and Damanhūr completely. To begin with, as Wilcken observed *Archiv*, VI, 402, it is impossible that a town where Thoth (Hermes) was worshipped should have developed into a town with a name connecting it unmistakably with the cult of Horus. Accordingly, Wilcken was inclined to distinguish the two places and to equate Damanhūr with a Τεράκων πόλις which is mentioned in an important itinerary contained in a papyrus of the 3rd century B.C. (*Pap. soc. ital.* [V], 543). That itinerary records a journey from Pelusium to Canopus, in the course of which the traveller arrives at Naucratis. The next stage brings him to Τεράκων πόλις, whence onwards to Hermopolis without crossing the Nile (see Edgar,

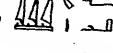
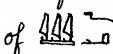
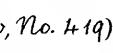
<sup>1</sup> This western Hermopolis is not to be confused with the capital of the xvth Lower Egyptian nome, of which the Egyptian name was  Bach 'Bach', and which was situated at Tell el-Bakīrah about halfway between Mansurah and Ss-Simbillawen, see Gauthier, II, 16 and *Ann. Serv.* XXX, 69 ff.

*Ann. Serv.* XXII, 3); four more unknown places are named before Canopus is reached. A glance at the map makes it clear that a journey from Naucratis to Canopus cannot have passed at any great distance from Damanhür, and notwithstanding Strabo's assertion that Hermopolis was near Buto<sup>1</sup> it must actually have been quite close to Damanhür, i.e. where Ptolemy puts it. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* gives the distance from Buto to Hermopolis as 16 Roman miles = 23.7 km. (Ball, 154), but from Tell el-Farâcîn to Damanhür, measured on the map, is 33 km. As the closing words of this description of the southern boundary we have 'to the gates of  $\ddot{\Delta} \square \ddot{\Delta}$   $\ddot{\Delta}$  Hacpy'. At first sight the determinative  $\ddot{\Delta}$  might seem to point to a town, but no other evidence of such in this neighbourhood is available. The term for 'gates' ( $\ddot{\Delta} \square \ddot{\Delta}$ ) might appear, as we have seen, to indicate a river-mouth, but it is hardly possible that the southern boundary should have turned northward towards the sea. I am inclined to think that the Hacpy here may be that which in several Graeco-Roman lists is given as the territory ( $\omega$ ) of the IVth and Vth Lower Egyptian nomes. Just as these two nomes were distinguished as those of  $\ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta}$  'the Southern Shield' and  $\ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta}$  'the Northern Shield' respectively, so too the territories were distinguished as  $\ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta}$  'Southern Hacpy' and  $\ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta}$  'Northern Hacpy' respectively (Chass., *Edfou*, IV, 24 f.; Düm., *Geogr. Instchr.* IV, 110 f., from Denderah; see too Gauthier, IV, 14 f.). The Hacpy here would then be 'the Northern Hacpy', the territory of the nome of Sais, and its 'gates' the approach thereto from the north. This suits our context very well. Lastly, the northern boundary  $\ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta}$   $\ddot{\Delta}$  ssy-t<sub>3</sub> hr spt w3d-wr 'P-si-to on the shore of the great-green (sea)' has been recognized by all commentators as referring to the narrow strip of dunes, formed by

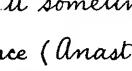
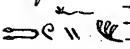
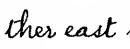
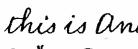
<sup>1</sup>Strabo was just as far out when he said (XVII, 1, 19) that Diopolis (Tell el-Balamin) was 'near Mendes'.

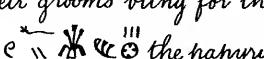
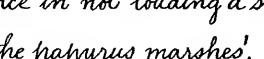
sea-shells, separating the coastal lakes from the Mediterranean; the absence of  $\ddot{\Delta}$  both on the stela and in On. Am. shows that no town was meant. With this interpretation the compound ssy-t<sub>3</sub> agrees well enough; no doubt this is the word  $\ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta}$   $\ddot{\Delta}$  ssy-t<sub>3</sub>, literally 'son of earth', which was used for 'snake' from the Pyramid Texts onward (Wb. III, 410, 16-7) and has survived in the Coptic *CIT* 'basilisk'. Hitherto it has been thought that the expression refers only to the coast-line along Lake Borollas; but the determination of the western boundary as the Canopic branch suggests that it extended also much farther to the west, i.e. along Lake Idkîr and Abukir Bay. It will be seen that the extent of Skenetô as indicated by the stela was very great, and when added to what the gods of Buto already possessed will have corresponded roughly to the extent of Ptolemy's nome of Phthenetus and his Metelic nome combined. The topics discussed above were the subject of a learned article by Daressy noted only after my own investigation had been completed, see *Rev. Eg. anc.* II, 20 ff.; study of the said article has not necessitated any modification of the conclusions already reached.

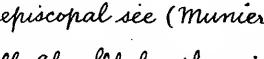
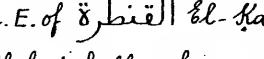
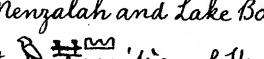
417  $\ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta}$   $\ddot{\Delta}$  G, *Dent* 'Janis', Assyr. *Sa-nu*, Hebr.  $\ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta}$ , Gk. *Távis* Copt. <sup>5</sup>*Xaane*, <sup>8</sup>*Xanh*, *Xani*, the modern  $\ddot{\Delta} \ddot{\Delta}$   $\ddot{\Delta}$  *San el-Hagar*, see Gauthier, VI, 111, Kees, art. *Janis* in *Bauly-Wissowa*; above all, Montet, *Janis*, Paris, Payot, 1942. The very extensive remains of this town, the most important of the north-eastern Delta, are 20 km. S. of the large village of Menzalah and close to the lake of that name; 14 km. N. and slightly westward of Tell el-Farâcîn, the Egyptian *Imet*, usually called Nebeshah, see under No. 409; full 50 km. NW. of Tell Abu Sefah, the Egyptian *Jel* and the Greek *Σέλη*, below, No. 419. Large-scale excavations have been made here by Mariette, by Petrie and for no

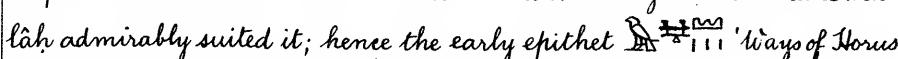
less than twelve seasons by Montet; for the monuments discovered see Porter & Moss, IV, 13ff., later additions being given in a number of articles listed Montet, op. cit. 41f., as well as in that book itself. Documentary evidence identifying the site as Tanis, apart from the fairly accurate position indicated by Ptolemy (Ball, 110) is found in the Coptic scaleae (Munier in Bull. Soc. arch. copte, V, 243) and the Rylands bishoprics' list (Munier, Recueil, 48, 11-2). The form of the name given by On. Am., which together with Wenamün 1, 3, 6 is the earliest mention, does not occur on a single monument from Tanis itself, unless it be the still unpublished statue of the 'governor of Tanis' Pikhucas (Montet, Nouvelles Fouilles de Tanis, p. 110); but on several late statues or stelae (Kêmi, VII, 134, 136, 153)  Sht Dc nt 'Field of Djacne' is found, and corresponds, as Brugsch first showed ZAS X, 16, to the Biblical לְשָׁמֶן 'Field of Loam'. The Egyptian Sht Dc nt is an extension (see JEA V, 248) of  Sht Dc, found for the first time on a temple-wall of the reign of Ramesses II at Memphis (Mar., Monuments divers, 31) and later given in such writings as  in Graeco-Roman nome-lists as the phw 'hinterland water' of the XIVth Lower Egyptian nome of  Khant-yeb 'Front of the East', the capital of which was Tjel (below, No. 419), see Gauthier, V, 59f. It is not clear whether Sht Dc or Sht Dc nt was at any time a name of the town itself, and it may not impossibly have been only a name of the surrounding region. Nevertheless, the determinative  found on the wall at Memphis (overlooked by me JEA V, 246) should be taken into account in any reconsideration of the intricate and much controverted problem whether Tanis and Pi-Ramesse are identical, see above on No. 410. If the theories of Sethe and myself are correct, Seth

was the principal god of Tanis; but in Ramesside times many other deities enjoyed prominence, see above all Montet's article in Griffith Studies, 406 ff.; further evidence suggesting a pre-eminent position for Seth in his book of 1942, p. 60. For the various difficult questions connected with the history of Tanis, its relations to the XIVth and the XIXth nomes, etc., see the articles by Kees and Montet above referred to, by myself JEA XIX, 122 ff., and by Weill in JEA XXI, 10 ff.

418  G, B-twf 'the papyrus marshes', Gauthier, VI, 72. The word tuf, Copt. <sup>5</sup> ροογγ, means 'papyrus' and is used in various passages of the plant itself, see Wb. V, 359, bff. With the definite article it sometimes indicates a locality, as it does here in On. Am. and once (Anast. IV, 15, 6, with determinatives  ) without the article. The passage in the Blinding of Truth, q. 2, where the Nile-valley is compared to a gigantic ox 'standing in Panamün (Diopolis Inferior, Tell el-Balamün) and the tip of its tail resting upon'   
 the papyrus marshes; evidently refers to the swamps between that northern town (see on No. 413) and the sea. However, another passage speaks equally decisively in favour of a position farther east in the neighbourhood of Lake Menzalah; this is Anast. III, 2, 11-2 in a eulogy of Pi-harmesse:        'the papyrus marshes come to him with papyrus reeds, and the Waters of Horus (P-shi-Hör) with rushes'; the connexion of B-twf with the Biblical ים-סוף Yam-sūph 'Sea of Reeds' (Hebr. sūph and Eg. tuf are the same word) and that of B-i-Sh 'the Waters of Horus' with the Biblical שיזור Shishor are beyond dispute, and point clearly to the fact that the compiler of the Exodus story had in mind a northern route from Pi-harmesse;

see my remarks JEA V, 251f., 261ff.; Recueil Champollion, 203ff., JEA XIX, 127f., but in reading the two former articles it must be remembered that the localization of Pi-Racmesse at Pelusium has now been abandoned by me in favour of Tanis. Other passages suggest a more or less restricted area in the north, perhaps in the Menzalah region: 'their grooms bring for them (sic! my lord's horses) green fodder from  the papyrus marshes,' Sall. I, 4, 9; after reproaches for negligence in not loading a ship, 'Are there not rushes (*isr*) in  the papyrus marshes?', Anast. VIII, 3, 3f.; 'Asiatics of  the papyrus marshes', Spiegellerg. Petubastis, 4, 14; 12, 23, demotic. The exact writings have been given to show the presence of  in two passages, as in On. Am.; but it does not seem likely that in any instance a definite town was meant, though the inclusion in On. Am. points clearly to a circumscribed area.

419  G, Pr (for P) htm n ȝrw 'the fortress of ȝel'; probably Zilî in the Amânah letters (JEA X, 6ff.), Sile in Itin. Anton., Selle in the Not. Dign., and Σέλη as an episcopal see (Munier, Recueil, 17, 31; 60, 38), the modern  ȝel Abu ȝefah, otherwise known as  El-Ahmar, 3 km. E. of  El-Kantarah just east of the Suez canal; ȝel Abu ȝefah is full 50 km. SE. of Tanis, and about 26.5 km. (= 18 Roman miles) SW. of El-Taramâ (Pelusium). [The last figure is from Ball, 162, where, however, 5 km. is wrongly given for the distance from El-Kantarah]. The fortress, mentioned in several other places in the same form (Gauthier, IV, 191f.) was the starting-point of the military road to Palestine (JEA VI, 99ff.), a function for which its position on a narrow isthmus between Lake Menzalah and Lake Ballâh admirably suited it; hence the early epithet  'ways of Horus'.

Textual Note. 419  for , see above, the Textual Note 105<sup>a</sup>.

(loc. cit. 115). As frontier town it was the natural end of Egypt, so that its occurrence as the last of the places mentioned in On. Am. is natural. Seleby, according to the Antonine Itinerary (Ball, loc. cit.) on the road from Pelusium to Clyoma (Suez) via Serapeum, and the distance from Pelusium is there given as 24 Roman miles. Though this statement is considerably in excess of the truth, no suitable site is discoverable except Tell Abu ȝefah, and the Latin inscription found there (Petrie, Nebeskelt, Pl. 51, with p. 93), though mentioning no place-name, proves the presence of a garrison, which agrees with the inclusion of Selle in the Not. Dign. (Ball, 162). The name Sele agrees admirably with the Egyptian ȝrw, and the Ptolemaic sarcophagi found on the spot give prominence to the latter name; bibliography of monuments discovered at Tell Abu ȝefah, including a few of Ramesside date, Porter & Moss, IV, 6f. Griffith (apud Petrie, op. cit.) placed the fortress here, but was inclined to locate the town elsewhere, though on insufficient grounds, as recognized by C. Küthmann, Die Ostgrenze Agyptens, 38ff. At Tell Abu ȝefah, according to inscriptions found on the same spot, was also the Ramesside temple of Horus, lord of  Món 'Mesen', and the latter ancient town (Gauthier, III, 60; references in Wb. II, 145, 2, 3, where the name is misleadingly described as that of a Kultstätte des Horus von Edfu; another peculiar view, but as usual with a wealth of valuable references, Kees, Horus u. Seth, II, 49ff.) must have been situated here or in the neighbourhood; some difficulty, however, lies in the fact that, as both Griffith and Edgar (Ann. Serv. XII, 46) remarked, the remains are so scanty and mostly of Roman date. See further on Món my article JEA XXX, 26, n. 1. The name ȝrw has not been found earlier than the reign of Sethmosis III (Sethe, Urk. IV, 649). In Graeco-Roman nome-lists (e.g. the great Edfu list, Rochem, Edfou, I, 334, No. XVI = Brugsch, DG 1366) ȝel is the capital of the

name of  'Front of the East', the XIVth nome of Lower Egypt according to the accepted order.<sup>1</sup> The principal god of the nome is described in the great Edfu nome-list as 'the lion () as a Horus (or a falcon) destroying his enemies, holy in the House of Horus, lord of Mesen', and elsewhere (Düm., Geogr. Inscr. III, 50) he is shown lion-headed 'warding off Baal from Egypt (so that) he entereth not into it'. As female counterpart he has an Isis, Chass., Edfou, VI, 51, No. 15.

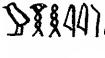
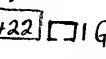
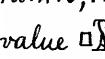
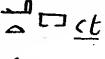
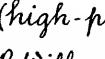
## VI. BUILDINGS, THEIR PARTS, AND TYPES OF LAND

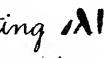
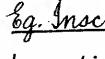
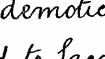
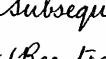
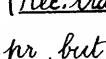
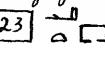
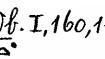
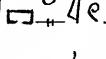
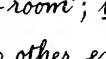
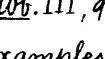
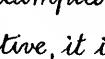
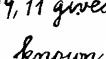
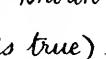
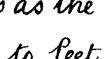
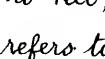
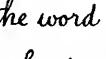
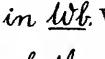
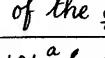
The new category that begins here shows both a continuity and a discontinuity with what precedes: we are still concerned with habitations of men, these passing into parts of buildings and types of land where human occupations were carried on; on the other hand specific localities distinguished by proper names are at an end, and we now embark on a series of general names. 420    G, vs. [Pl. 21],   'castle', 'pylon', Wb. I, 471, 6-8, the Late Egyptian masculine word normally written  or  and signifying a royal castle or the mansion of a wealthy man. The feminine word

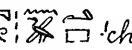
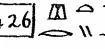
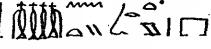
*Textual Notes.* 420<sup>a</sup> The writing is influenced by that of  Wb. I, 365, 13.  
<sup>b</sup> = wrongly omitted.

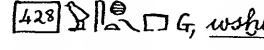
<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that Brugsch, DG 1366, the most accessible copy of the great Edfu nome-list, upon which one naturally looks as the standard for the Graeco-Roman nomenclature and order, has arbitrarily changed the place of the nome 'Front of the East', making it the XIVth, whereas the other editions agree in giving it as the XVIth, see above all Chass., Edfou, IX, Pl. 16. This nome-list dates from Ptolemy IV, and until that reign  does as a rule occupy the XVIth place. It is only in the reign of Ptolemy VII Euergetes II that the order accepted by Egyptologists becomes stabilized and almost invariable (an exception Düm., Geogr. Inscr. III, 43 ff.); in that fixed order  is the XIVth nome.

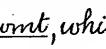
 for a 'pylon' (ibid. 10-1) would in Late Egyptian be written in similar ways, see P. Leyd. 348, vs. 6, b; P. Wilbour, Text, Table II, Nos. 68, 69, but is doubtless not here intended, since temples and their parts are not envisaged in this section. The prophet Isaiah uses the word  once (32, 14) for a watch-tower, once (23, 13) for a siege-tower, and in Hebrew the stem  is common with the meaning 'examine', 'test'; in Egyptian the much discussed Hammāmat stone   (Wb. I, 471, 1 ff.; Ann. Serv. XXXVIII, 127 ff.; XLI, 189 ff.) is sometimes written  where the eye suggests a like stem-meaning, unless indeed that determinative is borrowed from the stem contained in the old place-name      <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for 'tower'" data-bbox="9425 265 9455

the simplex  wht 'settlement', and the wholly isolated variant  Mes, N3 attached to the stem wsh and accordingly entered in a different place (Wb. I, 258, 5.6). Much more nearly correct was the discussion by Spiegelberg (Rec. trav. XXVI, 150f.). [422]  G, rt. vs. pr 'house', the oldest and commonest word with that meaning, Wb. I, 511, 7ff.; originally dissyllabic, as shown by the long vowel in Coptic <sup>s</sup> xenepwp, <sup>p</sup>xeneφwp 'roof' from d3d-n-pr; the construct state takes different forms, cf. Φορώρ 'House of Horus' (ZÄS LXVI, 29); Φερνούφι (*ibid.*), προγωνώ and other place-names (Crum, 267a), Bou- in Boutώ etc., see above on No. 415, Πα- in Πάτουμος, Hebr. מִתְהָבֵד (Recueil Champollion, 728); the value  ps given to  in the Sign Papyrus, 16, 1 is perhaps due to the fact that the scribe knew the word only, or almost only, in the construct state. In Late Egyptian literary texts pr is still in general use for 'house' (e.g. L.-Eq. Stories, 6, 9; 10, 4; 30, 14; 75, 3; L.-Eq. Misc. 30, 11), as also to some extent even in ordinary business documents, e.g. Peet, Tomb-Robberies, Pl. 7, l. 26; Pl. 15, *passim*; but in the latter the feminine  st (below, No. 423) is commoner, even for houses of the great (high-priest of Amun, op. cit., Pl. 19, in 7, 1b; vizier, Pl. 22, in 1, 6), cf. too P. Wilbour, Text, Table II, Nos. 32-7; evidently st was in course of superseding pr, though the latter was retained for the house, i.e. temple, of a god, both in the restricted sense of the actual building, and in the wider sense of the god's estate or property. In Coptic the regular word for 'house' (almost the only word, if Mawywne lit. 'place of being', i.e. 'dwelling-place' be excepted) is the masculine <sup>s<sup>B</sup> HI (Crum, 66), and the above-noted trend of development speaks strongly for the derivation of HI from the hieroglyphic . Steindorff's theory (ZÄS XXVII, 107) that HI represents earlier pr, the initial p</sup>

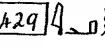
being dropped through misinterpretation as the definite article, cf. ppo from (Pr-3) 'Pharaoh', was accepted by Spiegelberg, ZÄS XXXVII, 27f., by Griffith, Rylands Papyri, 228, n.6, and by Thompson, SEA XXIII, 258, n.1, though the two latter scholars note that demotic has the writing  cy for most uses, but  (= ) as 'temple'. Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. II, 3 has hieroglyphic  corresponding to the former demotic group. Subsequently Spiegelberg (ZÄS LI, 125f.) became converted to Lacau's view (Rec. trav. XXXV, 64) that the vocalization of HI was impossible for pr, but the Berlin dictionary (I, 511) remains true to Steindorff's hypothesis. As against this, the obvious etymology of xenepwp shows the vowel of pr to have been o, older no doubt ā. The outstanding obstacle to the derivation of HI from  lies in the difference of gender; however, not only is such a change known elsewhere (Erman, Neuäg. Gramm. § 131; for st see my Inscription of Mes, p. 23, n. 75), but also rare examples occur in Graeco-Roman times where st is preceded by the masculine article, e.g. Junker, Auszug der Hathor-Liste, 31. 47 in Abh. Berlin, 1911. [423]   G, rt. vs. st 'room', later 'house', fem.; Copt. <sup>s<sup>B</sup> HI masc.; see Wb. I, 160, 1-13 and above under Nos. 79, 422. [424]   le   st G, rt.;   st   st G, vs. [ends], st-hms 'living-room'; Wb. III, 97, 11 gives as the meaning Wohnsitz, but of the two other examples known to Peet, Tomb-Robberies, p. 164, n. 58, one (defective, it is true) refers to part of a house, not the whole of it, supporting his rendering as above. [425]   je   st G, q3b 'side-room(?)'. This meaning is suggested by the word in Wb. V, 163, 3, found in the title irg-3 n ps qbw 'door-keeper of the qbw'; ZÄS LXXII, 91, n. 2 gives the two New Textual Note. 424 <sup>a</sup> Amend  as in rt.</sup>

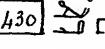
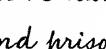
Kingdom references, adding to them  'chief of the sandal-makers of the gbw', Hanover 9. The determinative  vouches for the connexion with gbw 'arm', Copt. <sup>3</sup>θBOI, <sup>8</sup>χφοι, but the sense is evident by different from that of  in Westcar 8, 19 (ed. Erman, p. 52), an etymologically similar word (Wb. V, 163, 13) shown by the context to signify the 'side' of a hall. Perhaps, however, the latter significance was in Amenope's mind, since the two following items are 'lower part' and 'front part'.  G, hrtiu 'lower part', 'basement?', in Wb. III, 396, 12 characteristically rendered Art Gebäude; no other examples known to me. 

G, hnty 'outer chamber', lit. 'front part', Wb. III, 307, 11-4. For the confusion of the various words from this stem see my Admonitions, pp. 46ff., to which must now be added the notes by Junker, Giza II, 64, n. 2; 65, n. 1, but the word hnty of Harris 28, 11 quoted in the latter note needs to be rendered 'stand for food- and drink-offerings' in accordance with Nelson's explanations in JAOS LVI, 232 ff. In the temple of Edfu the outer of two hypostyles following the forecourt was called by this name, see Düm, Baugeschichte, plan at beginning, and presumably the same name was given to similarly situated chambers in secular buildings. 

G, wsbt 'broad hall', Wb. I, 366, 5 ff. Some literature: Steindorff in ZAS XXX, 107 ff.; Borchardt in op. cit. XL, 48, n. 3; demotic uses, JEA XIX, 36. To the last Borchardt clung to a distinction, in temple and palace, between the 'broad hall' and the  wmt, which he translated tiefe Halle, whereas wmt means 'thick', not 'deep', see Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, p. 95; fortunately Wb. I, 306-7 has not perpetuated this error. It remains for future

investigation to show to what extent the 'broad hall' continued to deserve that name, and did not develop into a general word for any spacious hall; the wsbt 'sk '(Broad) Hall of Waiting' in the tomb of Rameses IV is actually a little longer than it is broad (JEA IV, 152) and so is the great Forecourt named wsbt wdn '(Broad) Hall of Offering' in the temple of Edfu, see Düm, Baugeschichte, plan at beginning.

 G, i.ch(t?) 'alcove', 'moon-shaped recess'. Wb. I, 42, 11 does not attempt to define the meaning of this ānat leyóμενον, to which the only clue is the likely connexion with  i.ch 'moon'.

 G, snc (1) 'ergastulum', (2) 'storehouse', Wb. IV, 507, 12 ff., where the earlier and later meanings have evidently been carefully studied, but cannot be controlled in the absence of the Belegstellen. Here we must content ourselves with a brief summary of Egyptological opinion on the subject. The old reading cr and the meaning 'storehouse' were accepted (e.g. ZAS XX, 2, n. 1) until in 1902 Lacau, after an admirable review of earlier discussions (Rec. trav. XXIV, 93 ff.), proved the reading to be snc(w), but left the meaning for future investigation, merely saying that this appeared to agree with the general signification of the stem. Since snc signifies 'restraint', the implication seems to have been that the snc(w) was a place of restraint. The interpretation as 'ergastulum' I believe to have been due to Sethe; perhaps the first expression of it to appear in print was in his review of Weill's Décrets royaux, see Gott. gelehrt. Anz. 1912, 707, n. 4, where he translated  as Arbeitshaus, observing that here slaves and prisoners of war were housed, a custom for which he quoted Urk. IV, 781. 1102. 1147. In JEA XII, 136 Gunn contradicted this view, stating that the rendering (lege 'meaning') ergastulum 'is

only secondary' and that the snc is 'clearly at most a warehouse in which wares are prepared as well as stored'; in a footnote he observed that 'even the little magazines in the mastaba of Mereruka are referred to as snc in the inscriptions over their doors.' This fact proves at all events that the meaning 'magazine' existed already in the Old Kingdom. None the less, it appears likely that 'ergastulum' was the original sense, both on account of the meaning of the stem and because for 'storehouse' Egyptian has two other words, namely wd (below, No. 441) and mhr (below, No. 437); it must be admitted, however, that Wb. does not quote examples earlier than the Middle Kingdom for either of these. For the town B-snc, translated into Greek as Ἀποθήκη, the modern Abu Tīg, see above, No. 366A. [431] G, wb y(t) 'colonnade (?)', Wb. I, 352.

17. This is surely the feminine word written as such Brugsch, Wörterb. 271; also Pichl, Inscr. hiérogly. II, 79 (8dfu); in that case it ought to have been distinguished from the masculine Beni Hasan I, 26, 194. Both words are obviously derived from wb 'column' (Wb. I, 352, 12 ff.). The material available to me is insufficient to determine whether wb3yt signifies a colonnade or a hall with columns, and in what way it differed in meaning, if at all, from iunyt (Wb. I, 54, 2) and from w3dyt (Wb. I, 269, 7f.). [432] G, t3-rd 'stairway', lit. 'ground for the feet', Copt. <sup>5</sup>TWPT and <sup>5</sup>TWPTP, TWTP, see Crum, 431f. See Wb. V, 226, 2-3, already in Pyr. 1449, written . The Coptic equivalents suggest that the compound had regressive accent, subsequently interpreted as a half-reduplication, and for that reason ultimately completed into TWPTP.

[433] G, hwt-k3 'tomb-chapel', 'tomb', literally 'soul-mansion', Wb. III, 5, 14 ff. Preserved in the Babylonian Hikuptah 'Memphis', the presumed original of Aiypntos. Among discussions of the term may be noted those by Maspero, Proc. SBA XII, 249ff.; von Bissing, Gennikai, II, 23; Steindorff, ZÄS XLVIII, 154f.; Moret, ZÄS LII, 88f.; Blackman, JEA III, 250ff.; Robichon & Varille, Amenhotep, I, 4f.; Junker, Giza III, 118ff., this last-named important as disposing of a faulty reading that gave rise to

Textual Note. 432<sup>a</sup> is written twice in changing from one line to the next.

or else (2) for original h3ty, the m. s. 'portal', Copt. <sup>5</sup>χαειτ 'gateway', 'porch' (fem.) as very hesitatingly suggested above under No. 133. The existence of a simple fem. h3t or h3yt 'sky', 'roof' is undoubted, the example from Urk. IV, 429, 7 being conclusive; Wb. wrongly quotes Hood, 1, 3 (see above in the Introduction, pp. 24f.) as , but the example reflects the meaning 'sky'. In the Instructions of Ammenemes I the king is said to have made for his palace a 'ceiling of lapis lazuli', where the reference to lapis confirms the signification ceiling, since Egyptian ceilings were painted blue and furnished with stars to resemble the sky; here, however, while the corrupt text Sall. II, 3, 1, with its writing h3wtyw, carries but little weight, the same is not true of the relatively well written Mill. 3, 4, where with its w hints at a dual form h3wtic; was there then such a dual word for 'roof', 'sky' side by side with the simple singular? The strange Graeco-Roman word var. 'sky' (Wb. II, 483, 14) complicates the problem further; but this has no sign of an ending -ti. [434]

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much earlier argument. For the Late Egyptian writing of this word and for a town of the name see above, No. 358. [436] G, imn(t?)

'hidden place'; Wb. I, 84, 10-1 knows only a feminine word, but see the writing [437] P. Ch. Beatty VIII, vs. 1, 5.

[437] G, mhr 'magazine' for corn and the like, Wb. II, 134, 6 ff. In Pleyte & Rossi, Pap. Turin, 100, 6; 157, 4 the mhr is part of the šmy, see JEA XXVII, 24, n. 2. Since two more words signifying containers for corn follow here, it is strange that On. Am. omits šmy 'garner' (Wb. IV, 492, 4 masc., cf. the fem. šmmt op. cit. IV, 482, 3); the far commoner šnut 'granary' is reserved for later, No. 454 below.

[438] G, šsc 'container' for corn, Wb. IV, 409, 5 ff., in the Rhind mathematical papyrus either 'circular' ( dbn) or 'square' ( ifd), see Nos. 41 ff.; a masculine word was quoted by Erman (MS in my possession) as found on a Middle Kingdom coffin; Wb. enters here the word found Amenemopé, 8, 6; in JEA XII, 131 Gunn cites an example where the sense may be more abstractly 'volume'.

[439] G, šcyt 'garner', Wb. IV, 420, 14, cf. found as feminine clearly with this meaning in Pleyte & Rossi, Pap. Turin, 157, 4. A Middle Kingdom religious text (Rec. trav. XXXIII, 32, l. 85) has a word šct, but the obscure context does not favour its identity with šcyt here.

[440] G, mhn 'chest', 'coffer', Wb. II, 115, 1-3, where mhn n wd3t should be cancelled, see Textual Note 8 here and No. 441.

[441] G, wd3 'storehouse', Wb. I, 402, 10 ff.

[442] G, ssd 'window', Copt. <sup>58</sup> ssoywt Wb. IV, 301, 14 ff. Some references: L.-Eg. Stories, 3, 6.8; 27, 4; 66, 4; ZAS LXVIII, 25, n. 70; Hieratic Papyri....(Chester Beatty gift), Text,

Textual Notes. 440<sup>a</sup> Like see Pt. 11A, note <sup>a</sup> on 5, 16. <sup>b</sup> Doubtless to be read, a mere dividing mark, see above, No. 295, note <sup>a</sup>.

p. 71, n. 3; on the window of audience see Edgerton & Wilson, Historical Records, p. 27, n. 34a. [443] G, wsy 'chink', 'crack', Wb. I, 359, 2; see too my note Hieratic Papyri....(Chester Beatty gift), Text, p. 71, n. 3.

[444] G, sbty 'surrounding wall' serving as fortification of a temple area (e.g. Petrie, Six Temples, 12, 30; Harris, 4, 2; 57, 12) or of a town (Picankhi, 90), Copt. <sup>58</sup> COBT; Wb. IV, 95, 10 ff. [445]

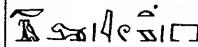
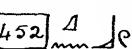
G, tsmt 'rampart' or similar, Wb. V, 410, 3-4; the word is presumably connected with that for a 'hound'; mentioned as part of the surrounding wall of a fortress (Israel Stela, 23), temple-area (Harris, 57, 13; 58, 5.10; 59, 3) or town (Picankhi, 88, 90); the passages in Harris mention as other parts of such a wall its crt 'upper chambers' (above, No. 432) and its tkr (Wb. V, 411, 1), and the exact distinctions between these terms remain to be determined. Féquier (Bull. inst. fr., XIX, 12) suggested 'parapet' for tsmt. Picankhi, 90 speaks of the tsmt as mnd 'manned with warrior(s)'; hence the suggestion 'rampart'. [446] G, int 'wall' Wb. I, 94, 15 ff., the commonest word with this meaning; or else for the feminine int 'fortress', Wb. I, 95, 10; the writing here does not enable us to see which of the two was meant.

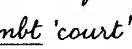
[447] G, mr(rt) 'street', Wb. II, 110, 8 ff. The identity of the word here seems guaranteed by borrowed from mr 'female singer', Wb. II, 107, 2.

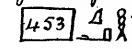
[448] G, cnh(?) meaning unknown; since any word with the consonants nh might be expected to be written with t, it appears possible that cn should be read, and the word regarded as akin to cnt 'ring', Wb. I, 188, 9; the meaning might then be 'ring-shaped hut' or the like. Neither possibility is registered in Wb. [449] G, wrs 'guard-house', Wb. I,

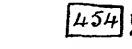
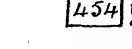
336, 15, only here; from the stem wrs 'pass the day', a derivative of which is wry 'watchman', Wb. I, 336, 9. [450] 

G, mktr 'fortress', borrowed from Semitic, cf. Hebr. מְקָרֶב, Copt. <sup>58</sup> med-twλ, with variants (Crum, 214 b), see Wb. II, 164, 2.3. [451]

 G, kri 'prison', only here, identified by Burkhardt (No. 1000) as borrowed from Hebr. נָסַב 'imprisonment'; so doubtfully Wb. V, 135, 3; Müller (OLZ X, 515) proposed 'metal lock', which of course is impossible in this context. [452]  G, knbt

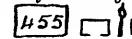
'corner, angle', Wb. V, 53, 5, there said to be used of a building, a lake, etc.; the usual determinative  sufficiently indicates the meaning; oldest example  'southern corner', Palermo Stone, vs. 5, 2; Brugsch, Wörterb. 1461 quotes later instances; one of them is Chass, Edfou, II, 26. The far commoner  knbt 'court' of judges is probably not a collective, as Lacau thought (Rec. trav. XXXI, 88), but a transferred meaning, of which indeed the English equivalent 'court' (German Hof) provides an approximative illustration.

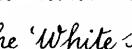
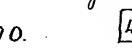
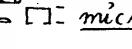
The stem meaning may be 'to bend', see Faulkner in Griffith Studies, 72. [453]  G, kch 'angle', Copt. <sup>5</sup> KOO<sub>2</sub>, <sup>8</sup> KO<sub>2</sub>,

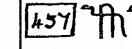
Wb. V, 19, 16 ff., synonym of the last; examples are fairly common, e.g. Urk. I, 126, 1; II, 193, 2.3. Perhaps the substantive  'elbow', 'lower arm' is the source, though there is also a similarly written verb meaning 'bend' the arm, Wb. V, 18, 5 ff. [454]  G,

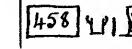
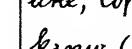
snwt 'granary', Wb. IV, 510, 1 ff.; Copt. <sup>8</sup> weyNI, only two examples quoted by Crum, 603, cf. Arab. دِجَنْ. This very common Egyptian word has been separated from the words of cognate meaning (Nos. 437-9) in order to place it next pr-hd 'treasury' (No. 455), the

Textual Notes. 450 <sup>a</sup> Or  453 <sup>a</sup> For o as often in hieratic, see Pl. 11A, 5, 8, note <sup>a</sup>.

'Treasury' and the 'Granary' being complementary administrative departments. Note that in Ptolemaic times snwt, not pr-hd, is the Greek Αργαπός, see Cumont, L'Egypte des Astrologues, p. 47, nn. 4.5. For the title 'Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt' see above, No. 121. [455]  G, pr-hd 'Treasury', lit.

'White House', Wb. I, 510, 3 ff.; as Thompson first pointed out, and as was subsequently elaborated by Sethe in Unters. III, 124, the earliest Dynasties had a parallel  pr-där 'Red House' for dealing with Lower Egyptian produce, 'red' being the colour of the Lower Egyptian crown, etc., as white was that of the Upper Egyptian; subsequently only the 'White House' survived as name of the treasury, just as  ni-snwt (nsw), originally 'king of Upper Egypt', became the ordinary word for 'king'. For 'overseer of the Treasury' see above, No. 90. [456]  G, mist, probably a farm-building of some sort, since in No. 191 the 'master of the mist' precedes the 'master of the cow-house' (mdt) just as mist precedes mdt here. See Wb. II, 42, 12; this mist is in all likelihood different from  mict in Admonitions, 4, 12, where the connexion with  nt 'weaving-rooms' (cf. Sall. II, 7, 2; Picankhi, 113; meaning not recognized in my commentary, nor in Wb. II, 200, 2-4) suggests the signification 'looms' or the like.

[457]  G, mdt 'cow-house', Wb. II, 185, 1 ff.; see above on No. 192.

[458]  G, k-mw 'vineyard', 'olive grove', 'orchard' and the like, Copt. <sup>58</sup> δwm, Wb. V, 106, 4 ff.; the relation to the earlier  k-nw (Wb. V, 107, 6-7) cannot here be discussed, see Keimer, Gartenpflanzen, I, 158; the word was probably of wider scope than its derivative k-my, for which see above on Nos. 224-5.

459 G, reading and meaning unknown, but probably like Nos. 458, 460 connected with fruit, flower or vegetable growing. 460 G, hsp, a late writing of hsp 'garden', Wb. III, 162, 4 ff.; similar writings "Horus & Seth, 11, q; Anast. III, 2, 3 = Rainer 53, 6. Both passages refer to the cultivation of herbs (sm); flowers are mentioned in connexion with the hsp in Bénédite, Tombeau de Neferhotepou, Pl. 3; fruit (dgy) in the demotic corresponding to Rosettana N 15 (Mrk. II, 176), where the Greek has παράδεισος and where a distinction is made between hsp and sh n irr 'fields for vines'; γῆ ἀπελίτης. However, this distinction is not made in the tomb of Petosiris where hsp n irr 'gardens of vines' are named, Recueil Champollion, 76 f.; thus hsp seems a wider, if rarer, term than k3mw (No. 458). The examples in the Pyramid Texts (126, 225, 2152) throw no light on the meaning; Peasant B1, 264 is rather more instructive.

461 G, st-swtw 'avenue', 'promenade', lit. 'place of promenading', Wb. IV, 78, 1; some references, ZAS L, 54, n. h. In Harris, 8, 3 it is coupled with k3mw and there, as here, avenues of trees were probably thought of.

462 G, tp-hwt 'roof', Wb. V, 290, 8 ff. Earliest examples probably Salerno Stone, vs. 3, 1; 4, 3; later ones, L.-Eg. Stories, 2, 2; 89, 12; Rec. trav. XXXV, 38, n. 5; ZAS LIII, 99.

463 G, pr-hry 'ground-floor', Wb. III, 389, i, where reference is evidently made to I 'I cleansed it (scil. the temple of Abydos) in its lower and its upper part' (lit. 'house'), Louvre, C12, 8 = Sethe, Lesestücke, 76; apart from this passage, pr-hry might, from its contrast to tp-hwt in On. Am., have been thought to signify

'basement', 'underground part' of a building.

464 G, rbn, unknown and not in Wb.

465 G, ... rt, unidentified.

465A hmc 'demolition?', 'rubble?' Wb. III, 282, 9, in taking this word together with No. 466 to form a compound, has not reckoned with the inaccuracy of G, and the separate existence of a M. K. word Wb. III, 282, 6 makes it almost certain that the determinative has been omitted here. Perhaps the source of this M. K. word in Wb. is P. Kahun, 23, 16, where Griffith read hmc? conjecturing in his note (p. 57) on 22, 40, where a similar phrase occurs, that the 'recovery' or 'reclamation' of land (cf. hmc 'seize') was meant. However, the connexion with A (Wb. III, 282, 7) meaning clearly 'demolish', 'break through' walls seems probable, and Wb. hesitatingly echoes the guess more positively advanced by myself (Eg. Hier. Texts, I, 19\*, n. 1; JEA XXII, 178) that this latter word should be read hm and identified with the well-known hm with the same meaning (Wb. III, 281 ff.). The late P. C. Smith, in studying a hieratic papyrus of the Middle Kingdom discovered by Reisner, came across a word parallel to 'stone', 'sand', 'bricks' and srft (cf. below, No. 469) in a calculation concerning the amount of man-power required to remove each type of material, and this fresh evidence urges caution as regards the reading of both verb and substantive, which may possibly be hmc after all. For the ambiguity of Late Egyptian , which can be either m or mc, see my remarks JEA XXVI, 154 f.

466 G, mhn, exact meaning unknown; Wb. II, 134, 1 renders schlammige Stelle, which is certainly

Textual Note. 465A <sup>a</sup> Restored from other words of the series.

not definite enough to suit the comparison in Lansing, 4, 5, where it is said of the potter (ihd nsdw, above, No. 184) that his hands and feet are full of clay, 4ex- $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  and he is like one who is in the mhn'; doubtless a specific, well-known occupation was intended, like (e.g.) that of a field-labourer standing on a ledge of the canal or river-bank to fill the pot of the shaduf - I do not claim, however, that this conjecture is the sole possibility. P. Wilbour also has a masculine mhnmm (sic) beside a feminine word with the same consonants, but there is nothing to show whether it is identical with that here discussed. 467 je $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, bwt 'hillock', Wb. I, 454, 17; the meaning attributed to this rare word is deduced entirely from its etymological connexion with bws 'to become high', Wb. I, 454, 10; apart from the present example and No. 475, where the word is curiously repeated, there have been quoted only Lebensmäde, 92; Blinding of Truth, 41; Lansing, 2, 1; 8, 4, the last two regarded by Wb. I, 455, 1 as a separate word meaning Vergnügungsstätte, but doubtless not to be distinguished thus, though the implication in those passages cannot be diagnosed.

468  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, dct, perhaps 'vein' of rock from which gold is obtained; known only from the expression 'gold (nbw or dcm)  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$  from its vein of rock', Drioton, Fouilles de Médamoud (1926), 54, 10 (Dyn. XVIII); Dürm., Hist. Inschr. II, 50, b; Chass., Dend. IV, 159. Wb. V, 535, 12 doubtless wrongly separates our word from that just illustrated (*ibid.* 1, 2). 469  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, srft, possibly a kind of earth or building material, see the M. K. example quoted under No. 465. Wb. IV, 197, 16 registers a  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$  with variant  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$ , both Late Egyptian and said to mean Grundbesitz, Vermögen; the second is almost certainly that

found here in On. Am., while the first is not improbably a faulty transcription for  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$  sdf 'foundation', Wb. IV, 370, 1, which is discussed in detail in my P. Wilbour, Commentary, pp. 116 ff. 470  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, mg. ..., doubtful; possibly the  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  mgrt 'caves', cf. Arab. جَهَنَّمْ, quoted Wb. II, 164, 14. 471  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, destroyed. 472  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, shnn 'ruin?', of very doubtful identity and not recorded in Wb.; can it be connected with  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  shnn 'overthrow' 'walls, etc.', Wb. IV, 270; 293, 17 ff.? 473  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, nt 'flood', Wb. II, 198, 10 ff. This entry seems incongruous here, and would have been more in place in Section II, where there are two more or less closely synonymous and possibly related words, namely No. 22  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  - nw and No. 32  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  nuv(yt?).

## VII. AGRICULTURAL LAND, CEREALS, AND THEIR PRODUCTS.

In spite of the rubric there is but little distinction of subject between Nos. 474 ff. and the preceding numbers. The new section might more fitly have opened with the cereals, Nos. 491 ff. These should be compared with On. Ram. Nos. 254 ff., and the products of cereals, which here begin with No. 508, should be compared with On. Ram. Nos. 217 ff.

474  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, sk(t) 'ploughland', Wb. IV, 316, 12, quoted as with the fem. article t3; is the reference there to P. Boulaq, IV, 5, 2 = P. Ch. Beatty V, vs. 2, 9, where t3y-k sk(t) is found? 475

475  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, bwt 'hillock', curiously repeated from No. 467 above.

476  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, mc 'mud bank', repeated from No. 56.

477-8  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, lost words.

479  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  G, ph3,

meaning unknown and only here, since the other example quoted Wb. I, 544, 1 is probably not identical. [480] G, cmd, meaning unknown and only here, Wb. I, 187, 8. [481] G, whm-tm̄b, meaning unknown; Wb. I, 345, 5 likewise regards this as a compound, though entering tm̄b separately in V, 369, 3. [482] G, w3d(t) 'vegetables'; Copt. <sup>s</sup>oyooṭe, <sup>b</sup>oyot, Wb. I, 266, 13; apparently a generic word, whence the derivative w3dty, above, No. 227. [483] G, bnt, doubtless for bndt 'cucumber-beds', a sense found also with Copt. <sup>s</sup>BONTE, <sup>b</sup>BONT 'gourd', 'cucumber' (Crum, 41). The meaning and Coptic equivalence have not been recognized in Wb. I, 432, 8 owing to the very imperfect and variable writings; but the comparison of these places the matter beyond a doubt, as the following examples show: P. Ch. Beatty III, rt. 6, q; Sall. IV, vs. 2, 3; Anast. IV, 9, 2 = Lansing 11, 7 (perhaps cf. No. 502 below); P. Rainer 53, 7; P. Boulaq IV, 5, 2 = P. Ch. Beatty V, vs. 2, q; also the Graeco-Roman writings separately given Wb. I, 464, 13 doubtless represent the same word. [484] G, mt(?), unrecognizable word. [485-7] G, ..... iy-(?)hy, several words that cannot be divided; the following entries make it probable that hy has here the meaning 'thresh' (corn) which it has (e.g.) P. Ch. Beatty V, rt. 6, 2; Sall. IV, vs. 13, 1, see Wb. III, 47, 4, 5. [486] G, ht, doubtless for htiw 'threshing-floor'; Copt. <sup>a</sup>ȝIET, see Wb. III, 349, 10; JEA XXVII, 63. [489] G, npt(?), doubtful word, perhaps to be taken together with [490] G, [h]b 'winnow'; Copt. <sup>s</sup>waww, <sup>a</sup>ȝwȝ. in O. K. h; h, Wb. III, 233, 17; JEA XXVII, 63. The two words may

Textual Notes. 480<sup>a</sup> Might possibly stand for . 490<sup>a</sup> The traces do not appear to suit but if not written, this must certainly be so emended.

well form a compound, since hh is a verb, and a substantive is required to indicate a place where winnowing was performed; for the first element one might be tempted to conjecture zpt 'threshing floor' (Wb. III, 434, 12 ff.; Montet, Scenes, 182), were it not for the fact that this word seems confined to the earlier periods, later being replaced by htiw (No. 488) and by dnu, Copt. <sup>s</sup>XNOOY, <sup>b</sup>DNWOY. Examples of hh 'winnow': Sall. IV, vs. 10, 2; P. Ch. Beatty V, rt. 6, 2.

The list of cereals beginning here is longer than that in On. Ram. (Nos. 254-65), with which it has but few items in common. The subject can in this place be treated only superficially. Other works in which series of cereals or discussions may be found: Junker, Giza I, 178 f.; Montet, op. cit. 228; Lacau, Sarcophages, I, p. 177. [491] G, pis, not elsewhere among cereals and omitted in Wb.; cf. the words in Nos. 144, 509, 512.

[492] G, sck, not in Wb. [493] lost, G. One expects at this point some mention of 'barley', which would be Copt. <sup>s</sup>EIWT, <sup>b</sup>IWT, rendering the Greek spithn, or it-m-it; on the latter expression see JEA XXVII, 24, n. 3. Then follow the names of seven kinds of bty, a later spelling (see ZÄS XLVII, 11) of earlier bdt 'emmer' or sometimes perhaps 'spelt'; Wb. I, 486, 14 ff., Copt. <sup>s</sup>BWTE, <sup>b</sup>BWT, BOF, which translates olupa of the LXX. The identification of this as 'emmer' or 'starch-wheat', scientific name Triticum sativum dicoccum, is generally accepted, see for the literature Wainwright, Sky-religion, 12. The chief reasons for the identification are, apparently: (1) the appearance of bdt in the O. K. reliefs, see Murray, Ancient Egypt, 1929, 44 f.;

Textual Note. 491<sup>a</sup> Möller doubted, but from the photo. can hardly be anything else.

(2) the finds in tombs of various periods, see Schweinfurth in Schäfer, Priestergräber, 161 and other authorities quoted in Gauthier, Fêtes du dieu Min, 95 ff.; after elimination of 'barley' (it, ειωτ) and the better kind of 'wheat' (sut, πούο, see No. 503 below), there remains for bdt only emmer; (3) the statements concerning dhupa made by Herodotus, see below under No. 517; for the comparative popularity of the different cereals at different periods see Griffith, Rylands Papyri, III, 78, n. 11. It must be added that the enumeration of seven kinds here shows that bdt cannot be tied down to one single botanical species, so that there may be some justification for the alternative rendering 'spelt' that is often adopted.

bty hdt 'white emmer', Wb. I, 484, 34; found in religious texts as used for bread; also in the medical papyri. [495] 

bty kmt) 'black emmer'; the text has written kmt 'of Egypt'; but the context here and the fact that the black variety is mentioned in medieval texts (Hearst, 4, 4; 10, 5, see WB: I, 487, 7) are decisive.

G, bty dirt 'red emmer', found parallel to 'white emmer',  
see No. 494; Wb. I, 484, 5.6 rendered gelber, which may correspond to the  
reality, but is not a translation. 494 G, bty

he.....! .... emmer; how the qualifying word is to be restored is unknown.

Wb. II, 501, 9 quotes only the present instance. 499

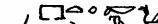
G; bty kt 'orange-red (?) emmer', W. V. 148, 8; the plant ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> kt

(*W.B. V. 14.8, 5 ff.*) is first perhaps mentioned Haremhab Decree, 24 as something he did after his accession to the throne.

after minerals in the collocation

many flowers of kt and flowers of lapis(o)

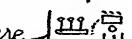
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'blue flowers').... in order to keep the craftsmen busy with them'; similarly Ram. Adm. Doc. 21, 13; in Harris, 36, f, γ we find  'seeds of kt and flowers of kt'; two of these passages suggest a dye or colour, and this indeed seems the only way in which kt could become an epithet of bty 'emmer' or 'spelt'; for that reason Spiegelberg's identification (Aub. 283) with Copt. <sup>5</sup>σογχ, <sup>8</sup>χογχ 'safflower', 'cardamum', i.e. Carthamus tinctorius L. (Keimer, Gartenpflanzen, 1f., 127) seems plausible; the Coptic word has many forms, see Crum, 840 b.   
bty ḥth 'emmer of Stah', only here. 

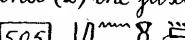
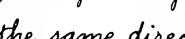
unknown. [502] ~~L~~ G, b[n?] or b[k?]; for the former see the very doubtful word ~~L~~ Lansing, 147, there apparently a corruption of bnt, see above, No. 483; the latter is unknown.

[503] ॥<sup>१८३</sup> ० अन्न <sup>१४५</sup> सि G, stut(?) n sht 'country-wheat(?)'; the first word of this otherwise unknown compound is presumably a miswriting of <sup>१८०</sup> swt, in O. K. <sup>१८०</sup> zwt, Copt. <sup>१८</sup> COYO (rendered in LXX by both σιτός and τυπός), see Wb. III, 426, 12 ff.; demotic evidence also points to wheat; Griffith, Rylands Papyri, III, 268, n. 1; Sethe, Burgschaftsurkunden, p. 19.

504 ~~3~~<sup>1</sup> ~~III~~<sup>o</sup> G, ~~b3~~; a cereal of some kind, O. K. writings ~~A~~<sup>o</sup>,  
1000 Wb. I, 478, 10f.; to the examples there quoted may be added others  
cited in the course of the elaborate discussion in Struve, Mathematischer  
Papyrus.... Moskau, 59 ff. Wb. gives the meaning as Art Frucht (neben  
Getreide und Datteln) and has possibly been influenced by the hesi-  
tating comparison given in Erman & Grapow, Handwörterbuch with  
Copt. <sup>5</sup>ΒΗΗΨ, <sup>3</sup>ΒΕΨ 'unripe figs', lk. ὄλυρος. In favour of such a view  
the constant association, as both here and in On. Ram. 256-7, with  
bnri 'dates' (below, No. 505) might seem at first persuasive evidence,

but against it there is strong testimony that bš was a cereal, and indeed as that cereal which, in combination with bnri, was used in making a much appreciated kind of beer. On this point the Moscow papyrus is decisive, adding many references to that contained in P. math. Rhind, No. 71. The connexion with beer being thus so well established, it is no longer possible to regard as fortuitous the mention of hkjt 'beer' side by side with bš in the legend above two O.K. scenes depicting men who are reaping a cereal resembling barley (Boeser, Beschreibung, I, 21; Mastaba of Mereruka, ed. Chicago, [II], 168). The legend is practically the same in both tombs, the slightly fuller version of Mereruka reading  ..., and though it is equally difficult to accept the translation 'de la bière pour celui qui coupe le bš' (Montet, Scènes, 202) and to substitute a better, there can be no doubt whatever that the 'cutting of the bš' here mentioned refers to the picture it accompanies; accordingly, bš is a cereal somewhat resembling barley. Struve, by eliminating the names of the other well-known cereals, concludes that bš must be 'spelt'. However this may be, there are many more indications that it was a cereal. In both our Onomastica it is placed, in company with bnri, among the cereals; so it is too, not only in the Moscow papyrus, more about which will be said under No. 505, but also JEA XIX, 152, on two sarcophagi of Dyn. IV; Firth & Gunn, Yeti Pyramid Cemeteries, I, p. 120, cf. p. 241; Lacau, Sarcophages, I, 177 (here  ... is actually written upon one and the same granary, as though this contained both mixed!); P. Kahun, 15, 66-7; P. Boulaq XVIII, 29, 2, 13-4 = ZAS LVII, 13\*, 47; P. Ch. Beatty V, rt. 8, 9; and again we find it with

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for this reference to the kindness of Mrs. Williamson.

other cereals, but not actually next bnri, Ann. Serv. XVI, 208. The only arguments that could still be urged in favour of bš being a fruit are (1) the afore-mentioned Coptic word BHHW and (2) the juxtaposition to bnri; I now turn to the latter topic. 505  G, bnr (or bnrt?) 'dates', Wb. I, 461, 12 ff.; in close association, as here, with bš, see above under No. 504. The word is masc., except on a Cairo coffin above quoted and in On. Ram., unless (as is unlikely) the supposed  $\Delta$  there is part of the hieratic ; the fem. word, Copt. <sup>s</sup>BNNE, <sup>s</sup>BENI, appears to be properly the name of the tree, the date-palm, Wb. I, 462, 1 ff. The Moscow mathematical papyrus makes it very clear that bnr and bš were used together to make beer, and this may be the reason that a cereal and a fruit occur so often in the closest association, as illustrated above. The only alternative (not a very likely one, since Struve, and Peet in his review of Struve, JEA XVII, 155f., did not envisage it) is that bnr here does not mean dates at all, but is the name of some sweet-tasting cereal. To this possibility I at one moment inclined, having found bnr ranked so frequently among cereals; also the determinative  seemed to point in the same direction. However, Newberry considers this determinative quite natural since, as he informs me, in Nubia the hard dried dates are measured out for sale in measures not unlike those used for grain. Moreover, in Harris, 21, b, 2; 37, a, 5; 38, b, 3; 54, a, 9. 10 bnr has the determinative  and in three of these cases (those underlined) the word is followed by mcd, a term known from Coptic to have been used especially as a measure for 'dates'; see JEA XXVI, 157f. Struve, who investigated this matter thoroughly, found no technical objection to dates having formed a large ingredient in beer, op. cit. 70f.; cf. the note at the head of the great Louvre papyrus 3326

dating from the reign of Tuthmosis II—Brugsch, Ihes. 1049: 'Memorandum concerning the dates that were given to the brewers (clhw), 40'. I find it hard to believe, however, that either Struve or Peet (loc. cit.) has understood the factual situation underlying the mathematical examples in which bš and bnr occur together in connexion with a particular kind of beer. According to them (Struve, 69; Peet, 155) the recurring formula of the Moscow papyrus  $\frac{2}{3} \times \frac{1}{2} \text{ hekat} = \frac{1}{3}$ , which for some mysterious reason is more than once stated to equal 2 (the Eg. says 'is 2', 2 pwr, 40, 6; 41, 2), has nothing to do with the actual beer with which the problems are concerned, but merely indicates that the strength of that beer is to be twice what it otherwise would have been. Perhaps the following suggestions, in formulating which I have received valuable advice from Mr. R. S. Williamson, may help others to advance a step further in the direction of a true explanation. Struve appears to believe that the ' $\frac{3}{4}$  of bš and of bnr' (occasionally the n before bnr is omitted) means  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a ds-vessel — this is a fixed measure — of the two mixed together; but the natural interpretation of the two indirect genitives is to take the formula to mean  $\frac{3}{4}$  (ds?) of bš and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of bnr, i.e.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ds, leaving  $\frac{1}{2}$  ds — since this ' $\frac{3}{4}$ ' is said to equal 2 (ds) — to be some other ingredient, probably the very grain with which the problems are concerned. The long problem, No. 9, turns upon the conversion of 16 hekat of Upper Egyptian grain into 100 loaves of which 1 hekat yields 20, and the remainder into beer of varying strengths indicated by the numerals 2, 4 and 6, i. e. 1 hekat of grain yielding 2, 4 or 6 ds-vessels respectively; then follows the above-mentioned bš-bnr formula. The loaves absorb 5 hekat, leaving 11 for the beer. The calculator adds the fractions  $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{6} = \frac{11}{12}$  and multiplies this by 2, with the comment 'because

he said  $\frac{3}{4}$  of bš and of bnr'. He then divides his 11 hekat of Upper Egyptian grain by  $\frac{22}{12} = \frac{11}{6}$ , obtaining 6 ds-vessels of each strength. Is not the most plausible view that he used his 11 hekat in the proportion of  $\frac{1}{2}$  for the beer-making to  $\frac{3}{2}$  ( $= \frac{3}{4} + \frac{3}{4}$ ) given in exchange for the bš and bnr, which were then put into the beer? In another problem (No. 12) 13 hekat of Upper Egyptian corn have to be converted into 18 ds-vessels of beer, and here the papyrus makes the statement that  $\frac{1}{2} \text{ hekat} \rightarrow \frac{1}{2} \text{ 'bš like bnr'}$  are (equal to)  $2\frac{1}{6}$ . With this datum the calculation reaches the conclusion that the beer thus obtained is of the strength 1 hekat of grain to 3 ds-vessels. Struve has a very strange explanation of 'bš like bnr', but surely this can only mean bš and bnr in equal quantities, a point upon which I find myself in agreement with Peet. On my view this new expression would be practically identical with the  $\frac{3}{4}$ -formula previously used, but the scribe has used the figure  $2\frac{1}{6}$  here in order to be able to present the strength of his beer as an integer, namely 3. Also I cannot help guessing that the scribe has used the preposition mi 'like' instead of ' $\frac{3}{4}$  of' because, though  $\frac{3}{4} + \frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{2}$  make 2, the same fractions added do not make  $2\frac{1}{6}$ . It should be added that Peet's translation and explanation of the  $\frac{3}{4}$ -formula differ considerably from those of Struve (see his p. 155), but the two scholars are at one in thinking that the bš and bnr here referred to were not ingredients of the actual beer with which these problems are concerned; that is the main point upon which my criticism has turned. 506 <sup>ton</sup><sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> G, nd (nt) 'flour', Wb. II, 370, 16-8, Copt. <sup>5</sup> NOEIT,  
<sup>B</sup> NWIT (for the form see JEA XII, 135); the meaning, established beyond a doubt not only from the Coptic, but also from clear contexts (see

Spiegelberg, Rechnungen, Pl. 8a, 1; Černý, Ostr. Ad. m. 115) is further deducible from the verb  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}$  nd 'grind', Copt. <sup>58</sup> NOY $\tau$ , Wb. II, 369, 11ff. For the inclusion here in the list of cereals cf. On. Ram. No. 260,  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}$ , where the true reading has not been recognized in Pl. 3A.

[507]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, mer, probably grain from a plant mer depicted in the hieroglyph  $\ddot{\text{x}}$ , early form  $\ddot{\text{x}}$  Setrie, Dendereh, Pl. 15, 3, used as phonetic determinative in mer 'successful', etc., Wb. II, 48, 10ff.; the originating plant does not seem to occur elsewhere, and is not recorded in Wb.  $\times$  Over forty items follow that with only rare exceptions are determined with  $\ddot{\text{o}}$  and doubtless name all kinds of pastry, bread or cake made from the previously mentioned cereals. Many are not named elsewhere and only three are shared with the corresponding list in On. Ram, see on Nos. 217-253 in Chapter I of this work.

[508]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, ibit, Wb. I, 64, 20, doubtless a foreign word, perhaps to be connected with Hebr.

$\ddot{\text{w}}\ddot{\text{b}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  'be dry'; variants,  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  Ram. Adm. Doc. 17, 10; Anast. IV, 14, 1;  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  P. Leyd. 350, vs. 2, 15;  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  Ostr. Gard. 78; in the three last examples said to be made of  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  t nfr 'good bread'.

[509]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, pis, probably for pon, see on No. 144; No. 512 is probably merely a variant spelling.

[510]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, t-hd 'white bread', very often mentioned, Wb. V, 210, 1ff.

[511]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, bit, see on No. 143.

[512]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, pis, see on No. 509.

[513]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  srt G, srt, perhaps only group-writing for the common  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$ , Wb. IV, 44, 6.

[514]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, t-ch 'ch-bread', interpreted thus as a compound, Wb. I, 224, 12.

[515]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, ts (? tis), Wb. V, 328, 16. Only here?

[516]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, bh, Wb. I, 423 without reference.

[517]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, krit 'kyllesis-bread',

the xullip̄tis of Hdt. II, 77, there said to be made of člupa 'emmer', 'spelt', see Wiedemann ad loc. for other Greek authors; often mentioned, for references and spellings see Burchardt, No. 1017. The papyri in Spiegelberg, Rechnungen are much concerned with the baking of this sort of bread, see too Eisenlohr in Proc. SBA XIX, 94ff. [518]

$\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, c-c 'great c-loaf' or perhaps better 'c-c-loaf', a compound like t-hd (No. 510), since this list does not employ arbitrary detachable epithets; the first element is not in Wb., unless it be the word  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  ic 'tomb' (I, 40, 3) in distorted form; such names for kinds of bread as bnn 'pyramidion', thn 'obelisk' make it possible that a particular loaf was called 'great tomb'. The reasons for joining  $\ddot{\text{t}}$  to the preceding c, instead of making  $\ddot{\text{t}}$  the initial consonant of the next word, are sufficiently indicated under No. 519.

[519]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, hrps, Wb. III, 329, 16; for this kind of loaf or cake Burchardt 738 quotes, besides  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  Anast. IV, 14, 2, where the initial  $\ddot{\text{t}}$  serves also for the number 1000 attached to the preceding word, an example written as here in Inscr. hier. char. (Brit. Mus.), Pl. 28, No. 5639 a, 5; cf. also  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  Cairo 25553, rt. 7 (Cerný, Ostraca, Pl. 42\*). The large number (10,000) in the Anast. IV passage suggests a small biscuit or the like.

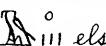
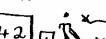
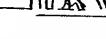
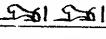
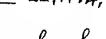
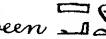
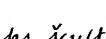
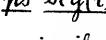
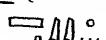
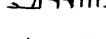
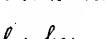
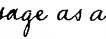
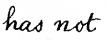
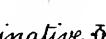
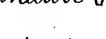
[520]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, hd, perhaps only here, Wb. V, 82, 16.

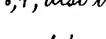
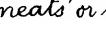
[521]  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  G, srt; this cake or loaf, curiously repeated below in No. 540, is not recorded either in this form or as srt in Wb., but occurs there as  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  srt (IV, 549, 3, from Graeco-Roman times), which is equated with  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  srt of Wb. IV, 25, 4, 5, where the writing  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}$  is given as being used from Dyn. XVIII on; for srt see Lyr. 124, 133. From Ramesside times we have  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  Anast. IV, 14, 1;  $\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{t}}$  Sall. IV, vs. 15, 8, in the former case definitely among loaves and cakes; on the other

hand P. Ch. Beatty IX, rt. 11, b. 7 writes  in an offering-list for the fruit, white or green, given in earlier times as  sht or  sbt, see Wb. I, 267, 9ff. [522]  wdn(t) 'offering-loaf', Wb. I, 392, 14, probably identical with  ibid. 393, 1, of which examples are Med. Habu (ed. Chicago), III, l. 81, var.  ibid. l. 634, where the word is written as a feminine; Harris 18, a, 1; 37, b, 10 have the more complex spelling  (Wb. I, 393, 2) [523]  g, pi (written pwi), carelessly repeated below as No. 544; Wb. I, 506, 14 strangely transcribes pwr, but is doubtless right in regarding this as equivalent to the old word  pst (Wb. I, 495, 6ff., see too On. Ram. 228), quoting as evidence the writing  P. Neschons, 3, 18-19 = Golénischeff, Pap. hier. p. 179, 51.52 (fem.). [524]  g, hnpw; I can quote no other examples, but Wb. III, 291, 7 gives as late variant  imp.

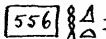
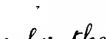
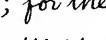
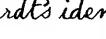
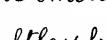
[525]  g, repeated from 524 by dittoxgraphy. [526]  g, hnpwr, Wb. III, 291, 8; very strange-looking and perhaps spurious. [527]   g, smt-cnr, a compound not mentioned in Wb.; the second element is the word for 'pebble', Copt. <sup>sb</sup> λ, Wb. I, 208, 11, but neither is any reasonable meaning suggested by 'the going of pebble', nor does a purely phonetic smtm-cal recall any known word. [528]  g, cprt; this reading, if correct, would exemplify a spelling more suited to O. K. than to Ramesside times, see in Wb. I, 180 the variants quoted for the verb cpr. Is it possible that the word  cprt 'outfit' (of offerings, Wb. I, 181, 5) was here intended? [529]  g, zr, literal meaning 'speedy', not recorded in Wb. as name of a loaf or cake. [530]  g, t-pnn, not in Wb.; in this context hardly an eccentric writing of  tphnn 'cumin', Copt.

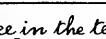
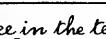
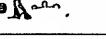
<sup>5</sup>TANN, <sup>8</sup>ΩΔΙΕΝ, Wb. V, 296, 9.10. [531]     G, bri; no other example is quoted Wb. I, 466, 5. [532]    G, ntt (or tt?); taken by Wb. V, 413, 15 as a genitive 'of sparrows' (Copt. <sup>5</sup>ΣΑΞ, <sup>8</sup>ΣΑΞ) to No. 531, but this seems improbable; on the other hand, the determinative does point to a connexion with tt 'sparrow'; since no cake or kind of bread ntt is known, perhaps the hieratic — is to be taken merely as a word-divider, and these loaves may have been called simply 'sparrows'. [533]     G, rightly recorded Wb. I, 56, 16 as probably a miswriting; as here given without — as determinative, the word spells ior-ti 'pregnant', Copt. <sup>5</sup>ΕΕΤ, but the latter pronunciation suggests no Egyptian word suitable to this context. [534]     G, ckw-n-it 'barley bread', cf. Harris, 17, b, 12, written     G, nn, the only example known to Wb. II, 275, 1. [535]     G, qtb or qb, possibly the only known example, Wb. V, 164, 12. [536]     G, htyw, or perhaps better ht as given Wb. II, 503, 8, where     Anast. IV, 14, 1 is quoted and a word  of Graeco-Roman date (Wb. II, 482, 7) is compared. [537]     G, mrr, according to Wb. II, 110, 12 only here in this spelling, but immediately afterwards  is quoted from Mar., Dend. III, 49, d. [538]     G, gfgf; Wb. V, 155, 4 gives gfgf (?) on account of  just preceding, to which the meaning 'bake' is assigned; if Sall. I, 7, 8 be the only source of this, the meaning is very doubtful, and in any case gf would be a more likely reading. [539]     G, gfgf; Wb. V, 155, 4 gives gfgf (?) on account of  just preceding, to which the meaning 'bake' is assigned; if Sall. I, 7, 8 be the only source of this, the meaning is very doubtful, and in any case gf would be a more likely reading. [540]     G, srt, thoughtlessly repeated from No. 521.  The next six words are rubricized for no apparent reason. [541]     G, iws 'gruel', identical, as Wb. I, 58, 2.3 has seen, with  of the textual notes. 532<sup>a</sup> Or — as word-divider, see above, No. 295, note <sup>a</sup>. 541<sup>a</sup> For mrr in pl. 13A the division-mark — should probably be substituted, see loc. cit.

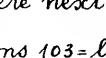
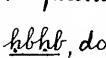
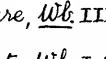
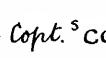
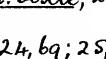
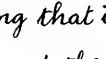
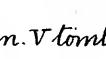
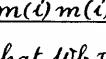
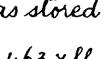
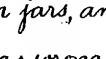
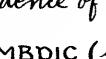
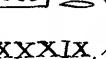
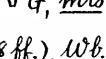
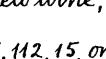
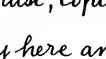
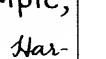
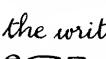
medical texts and  elsewhere in Late Egyptian, Copt. <sup>542</sup>  G, *hfr*, according to Wb. II, 489, 14 only here. <sup>543</sup>  G, *hbr*, Wb. III, 254, 11, doubtless only here. <sup>544</sup>  G, *pi*, carelessly repeated from No. 523. <sup>545</sup>  G, *rbc*, Wb. II, 414, 7, only here. <sup>546</sup>  G, *tri*, Wb. V, 386, 5, probably only here. <sup>547</sup>  G, *nch*, according to Wb. I, 505, 1 only here. <sup>548</sup>  G, *scyt*, one of the words for a particular kind or kinds of loaf or cake which Wb. IV, 421, 3 ff. groups together under the heading  *scut*; in On. Ram. a distinction is made between  No. 222,  No. 227 and  No. 236; there is a *ps scyt* 'baker of *scyt*-cakes', above, No. 141, where  is written; similar writings also e.g. Univ. rt. 2 (this book, Pl. 23); Anast. IV, 3, 7, etc.; P. Leyd. 348, vs. 10, 5 = L.-Eq. Misc. 137, 1; Harris, 17, 2, 14;  Med. Habu (ed. Chicago), III, l. 24, 3;  P. Ch. Beatty IX, rt. 9, 15, together with . <sup>549</sup>  G, *bnt* ('date-(cakes?)', Wb. I, 463, 13 with the rendering *Süssigkeiten*; the context here suggests cakes. See further above on No. 505. <sup>550</sup>  G, *kst-irt*, lit. 'works-of-milk' (*irtt*), i.e. 'milk-biscuits' or the like; not noted either Wb. I, 117 or V, 101 and probably only here. <sup>551</sup>  G, *rhr*, Wb. I, 448, 3, quoted from this passage as a *Getränk*; but Nos. 552-4 show that the series of cakes or loaves has not yet ended, and it is by no means improbable that the determinative  is due to the influence of *irt* in No. 550. <sup>552</sup>  G, *npy* (or *npyh*?), highly problematical and ignored by Wb.; hardly a writing of  *npu* 'grain', Wb. II, 249, 4 ff. <sup>553</sup>  G, *brbr*; Wb. I, 466, 1 knows a verb thus determined also from *Edfu* (*Düm. Geogr. Inschr.* II, 90, 9), where the sense is *Textual Notes.* 551<sup>a</sup>  is not quite certain. 552<sup>a</sup> Or ?  is unlikely, since a determinative is required.

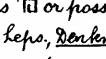
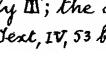
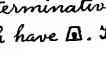
obscure, and compares it with Copt. <sup>5</sup> **BPBP** 'boil over', mainly intransitive. No such sense fits into the present context. Another way of explaining the present entry is to suppose that  is a corruption of  for a loaf or cake called *bnbn* or *brbr* (both forms occur) see Wb. I, 459, 12. <sup>554</sup>   G, *trr*, Wb. V, 388, 1; also in No. 148 above. <sup>555</sup>  G, *hni* 'sweetmeats' or the like, see above, No. 149.

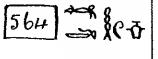
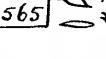
## VIII. BEVERAGES

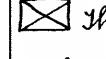
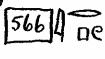
There is no rubric, and a new section is here begun merely for the convenience of this edition. <sup>556</sup>  G, *hnykt* 'beer', Copt. <sup>5</sup> **ZNKE**, <sup>8</sup> **ZEMKI**, translating *ζύθος*; for the reading see Eg. gramm., §59. <sup>557</sup>  G, *trk*; Burchardt's identification (No. 1097) with  *trnk* in Anast. IV, 12, 1, where an intoxicating drink is meant, is obviously right, and  should be emended for  here; Wb. V, 384, 9 adds the writing  *trnk*, doubtless from Lefebvre, Inscriptions, 43, 3 (p. 64). <sup>558</sup>  G, *hmt*, apparently a kind of beer in process of making which something is done thrice or for three days, or else which is of triple strength; at all events the word for 'three' (*hmt*) has given its name to this drink, of which Wb. III, 285, 1 knows Graeco-Roman examples; two expressions, viz. *hmt-ny n hmt* and *hmt nt hmt-ny*, both found in the medical texts, are obviously related, loc. cit. 2, 4. The description of Egyptian beer-making in Lucas, Anc. Eg. Materials<sup>2</sup>, 5 ff. throws no light on the number 3 in this connexion. <sup>559</sup>  G, *dbyt*, see Wb. V, 435, 3; some examples, P. med. Berlin, 19, 1; Anast. III, 3, 5; Sall. IV, vs. 4, 5, in both the last examples beside *hnyw*, as here. Has the word anything to do with *dtb* 'fig'? <sup>560</sup>  G, *hnyw*,

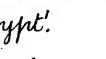
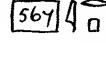
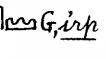
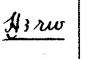
*Textual Notes.* 557<sup>a</sup> Amend ; see in the text. 558<sup>a</sup>  as though for 

see Wb. III, 247, 12; twice elsewhere next to dbyt, see under No. 559; also in the writing  & P. Neschons, 103 = Golenischeff, Pap. hiér. p. 189, with the variant  & on the board containing the same decree; evidently a sweet drink, since the Anast. III passage declares that it 'surpasses honey'. [561]  & G, hbht, doubtless with some such sense as 'festival drink'; perhaps only here, Wb. III, 64, 2. [562]  & G, wnmt, only here according to Wb. I, 315, 18. [563]  & G, smt, a well-known word; owing to Copt. <sup>5</sup>COPM, CAPM, <sup>8</sup>COPEM 'lees', 'dregs' there has been a tendency to translate it in that way, and the Coptic word is certainly connected. However, in Egyptian it is often parallel to hnkt 'beer', and the adjective ndmt 'sweet' is found applied to it, for references see Sethe, Dram. Texte, 214; also in the dockets of actual jars, Petrie, Tell el Amarna, 24, 69; 25, 98. Examples occur also with the determinative  suggesting that it was grain-like or at least semi-solid in the dry state, and this is confirmed by the position in On. Ram. No. 269; in a Dyn. V tomb (Montet, Sicènes, 132, n. 1) it is mentioned side by side with m(i)m(i) as stored in jars, and the writing  smt shows that Wb. III, 463, 7 ff. was wrong in placing it under  instead of ; the writing with  occurs also in the tomb of Bel at El-Kâb              'I placed smt in milk-pails<sup>1</sup> and beer in rats<sup>2</sup> over and above the (usual) pots', i.e. I used very large receptacles for these articles of consumption. Apart from the determinative , there is conclusive evidence that smt was sometimes eaten, not drunk; for in Davies, Antefoker, Pl. 11 a child stands with a little cup beside a man straining a mass of something into a bowl,

<sup>1</sup> My own copy made on the spot notes '' or possibly ''; the determinative points to the former, though Brugsch, Theb. 1527; Lepsius, Denkm. Text, IV, 53 both have . The earlier copy by Brugsch (Rec. Mon. I, Pl. 12) reads mbr as I do.

and the child says 'give me smt, I am hungry (hkr. ki)'. [564]  G, sdh, a much discussed word first found in Late Egyptian and rightly defined by Wb. IV, 568, 12 as a beverage akin to wine. Of the many examples in Harris (see Pichl, Index, 90 f.) most place it next to irp 'wine' and in 1, 11; 46, 2 it is expressly stated to be a product of the kmw 'vineyard', 'orchard' (above, No. 458). As a dangerously intoxicating drink, Anast. IV, 12, 1; Pleyte & Hassi, Pap. Turin, 19, 3, again accompanying irp; so too irp and sdh as products of the Oases of Bahriyah (Dsds) and the Great Oasis (Knmt), Naville, Bubastis, I, Pl. 51, G1. Late examples where sdh is coupled with irp, see ZÄS XX, 94. The identification with the Greek ζύθος suggested by Pichl (Rec. trav. II, 124) does not suit the above facts, though still accepted by Griffith, Rylands Papyri, III, 193; Diod. I, 34 states that ζύθος was made of barley, and the papyrologists translate this and the compounds formed with it as 'beer'; see Freišigke, I, 648 f. (ζύτος); see too above under No. 556. Loret and others have believed that sdh was pomegranate-wine, but Heimer, Gartenpflanzen, I, 152 maintains that there is no evidence of this. [565]  & G, mrs 'new wine', 'must', Copt. <sup>5</sup>MPIC, <sup>8</sup>EMBPIC (see Rec. trav. XXXIX, 168 ff.), Wb. II, 112, 15, only here and Harris, 64, 2, 6, where it is coupled with irp 'wine'. Albright (AJSL XXXIV, 250) quotes an Assyrian word mērisu having the same meaning.

 The six kinds of wine that follow have nothing in common with the stereotyped series of five kinds found in the longer offering list of the Old Kingdom; for this latter see Bissing, Gem-ni-kai, II, 38; Junker, Giza II, 93 f.; Brugsch, Grosse Oase, 90 ff. [566]  

G, irp n kmt 'wine of Egypt'. [567]      'wine of Khor', i.e. of Syria. This entry has been dealt with already, I, pp. 180\* ff.

Textual Note. 565 <sup>a</sup> Cancel the note on Pl. 13A; mrs is certain from the context, and suits the hieratic well enough.

[568] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, *ιρp n* whst 'wine of the Oasis'; this kind of wine is added to the list of the old five sorts Brugoch, Grosse Oase, Pl. 17, 11; 'I have made for thee vineyards (k3mw) for wine in the Southern Oasis and the Northern Oasis', Harris, 7, 10; 'very good wine of the Southern Oasis', Louvre A 90 = ZAS XXII, 88, better Schäfer, Beiträge z. alt. Gesch. IV, Pl. 1; see too Düm. Oasen, pp. 2 ff. and above under No. 364.

[569] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, *ιρp n* cndt 'wine of Andjet'; for Pr-Wair 'Busiris' and its alternative name Andjet see above, No. 412. [570] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ**

**κ** **ε** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, *ιρp n* hardy 'wine of Hardai', i.e. of Lycopolis; for this town see No. 385. [571] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, *ιρp n* imr 'wine of Amor'. This entry has been dealt with already, I, pp. 187\* ff. [572] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, kmnd 'vinegar', Wb. III, 99, 13, probably in Egyptian only here and a borrowing from Semitic, cf. Hebr. יָמִן; Copt. <sup>s</sup>γΜΧ, <sup>g</sup>ΕΜΧ.

[573] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, *ipur*; Wb. I, 69, 9 makes the doubtless correct suggestion that this is identical with **Κ** **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ** **p** **ur**, a beverage of second-rate quality, Wb. I, 498, 7 ff.; dregs of pur, P. Hearst, 11, 6; as a kind of wine drunk by the servants, Anast. IIIA, 2 = IV, 16, 1; together with irp and sdh, Anast. IV, 7, 4; with sdh, Anast. I, 5, 2-3. [574] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, cl(p) 'fat'; in case **Ι** **Ι** is a miswriting or abbreviation of hieratic **Ι** **Ι**; so understood by Jéquier, Bull. inst. fr. XIX, 152, but 'fat' does not fit well into the present series.

[575] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, cwsyt(l), conjectured by Jéquier, loc. cit. and Wb. I, 172, 8 to signify fermented liquid of some sort; cwsyt is common in the medical papyri, mostly in the phrase **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ** **h3s n** cwsyt; the related verb **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** cws (Wb. I, 172, 3-5) means something like 'rot', 'go bad', and is used of bread and wood, as well as of beer.

[576] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, g3s 'dregs' or 'lees' probably, since doubtless derived

Textual Note. 571 <sup>a</sup> The det. **σ** is doubtless borrowed by attraction from irp preceding; emend lcos.

from the rare verb **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ** 'spill', 'pour out', Wb. V, 156, 5, Copt. <sup>s</sup>δωωγ, <sup>g</sup>χωωγ, an example Ostr. Brit. Mus. 5637, rt. 3-4 = JEA XII, Pl. 37; for the derivative Wb. loc. cit. 13, 14 quotes 'g3s' of beer, 'g3s' of cwsyt, both doubtless from P. med. London, 3, 6, 11, 5-6; Wb. assigns no meaning. [577] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, lnd, perhaps only here, Wb. V, 549, 8. [578] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, brbs, according to Wb. I, 466, 4 only here.

## IX. PARTS OF AN OX AND KINDS OF MEAT.

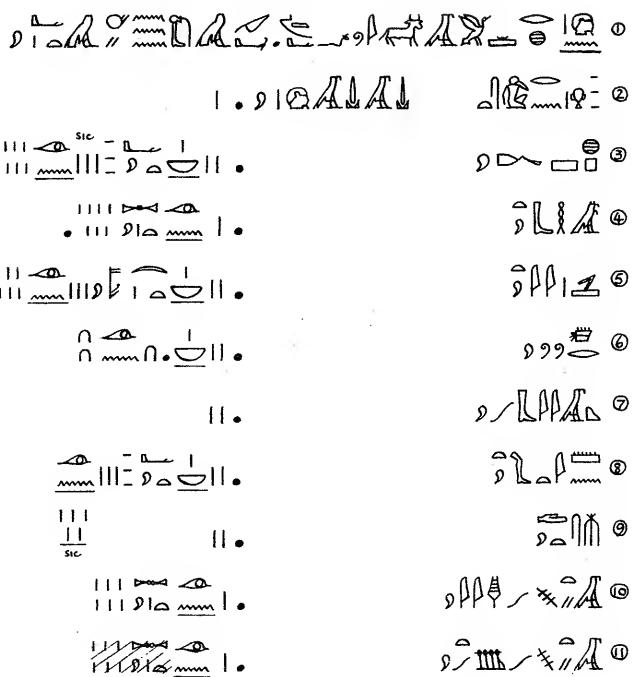
That parts of an ox are here intended, not parts of the human body, seems clear, not only from the three kinds of meat with which On. Am. comes to an end (Nos. 608-10), but also from the fact that at least three of the names (Nos. 593, 597, 604) are not found anywhere in the many lists of human limbs and organs that we possess, whereas they do occur in connexion with slaughtered oxen. The similar list in On. Ram. points to the same conclusion, and another indication may be found in the continuity which emerges with the two foregoing sections; these, from No. 491 onwards, having been concerned solely with things intended for human consumption. As in the list of towns (V), the section begins with a word of the greatest possible generality.

[579] **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ**, iwf (if) 'meat', Copt. <sup>s</sup>δq. From M. K. onward the word is practically always written **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** with w, whence the accepted transliteration iwf. This, however, as was pointed out to me by Sethe orally, cannot be correct, since Copt. δq (despite an occasional variant δaq) could hardly have arisen from iwf. In O. K. **Ι** **Ι** is regular, e.g. Pyr. 725. 1008; Junker, Liza II, 91, and throughout the same period this same writing, not excluding the determinative **ι**, is consistently used for what the Middle Kingdom wrote as **Ι** **Ι** **ε** **τ** **μ** **ν** **σ** **ι** **ω** **γ** 'he is', e.g. Pyr. 301. 363. 56b. 959 (959 c)

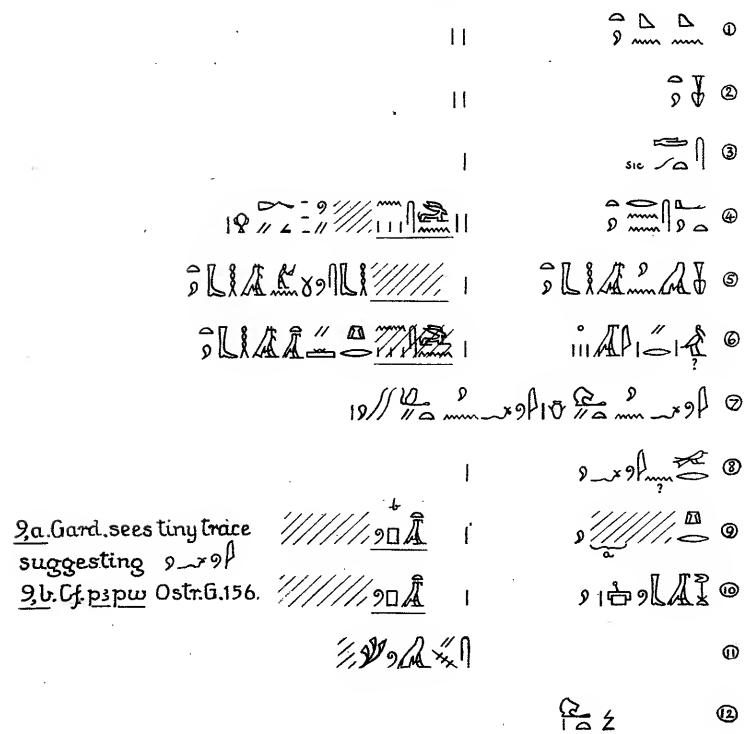
## RECTO

On Am. GY.9.
exceptionally without ȝ). 1141; <u>Wk. I</u> , 122, 16; 163, 16; and for <u>iwf</u> likewise the oldest pronunciation that can be elicited is *af. It is clear that the two words were homophonous from the start and that if borrowed the determinative ȝ from ȝ if 'meat', 'flesh'; subsequently if was written ȝ with the w found in the independent form iw (also curiously, and probably wrongly, in iw.ii 'I am'), and then in turn loaned this w to if 'meat', producing the familiar writing ȝ w (ȝ w). As a practical convenience we may continue to transliterate both words with w, i.e. <u>iwf</u> and <u>iwf</u> , but the advanced scholar should bear in mind that this is not strictly accurate. ☒ Important parallels for the following parts of an ox are contained in Ostr. Gardiner 155. 156, and transcriptions of these are accordingly given on pp. 239* f.
[580] <u>I A T A</u> ȝIG,
<u>dʒdʒ</u> 'head', Copt. <sup>58</sup> ȝwx; so too On. Ram. No. 273, see in the printed text thereon; again of an ox, <u>P. Boulaq XI</u> , 1, 2. 7, etc.; Ostr. Gardiner 155, rt. 2.
[581] <u>A I e G</u> , nhbt 'neck', Copt. <sup>5</sup> naȝb, <sup>8</sup> neȝbi, so too On. Ram. No. 283; explicitly of ox, Ostr. Gardiner 155, rt. 4.
[582]
<u>I H A ȝ G</u> , <u>byst</u> , only here according to <u>Wb. I</u> , 442, 8, where it is regarded as part of the human body. [583] <u>T A Je ȝ I A ȝ G</u> , <u>hbst</u> , meaning obscure and left unexplained by <u>Wb. III</u> , 255, 17. Apart from this, <u>Wb. ibid. 10-2, 13-4</u> registers two words, namely (1) <u>ȝ - hbst</u> 'tail' and (2) <u>ȝ - hbst</u> 'beard'. Of these (1) is well attested, above all in Lacau, <u>Sarcophages</u> , I, p. 166, with the relevant pictures; in Mond & Myers, <u>Temples of Armant</u> , Pl. 103, l. 7 it is used of tails of wild bulls to serve as ceremonial tails for the king; <u>Pyr. 504.543</u> in less convincing contexts; for (2) see Brugsch, <u>Wörterb.</u> 1032, late passages in which the writing is <u>ȝ - hbst</u> with significant determinative; Golénischeff, <u>Naufrage</u> , pp. 153 f. is probably right as against Sethe, <u>ZAS XLIV</u> , 83 in

238\*



## VERSO



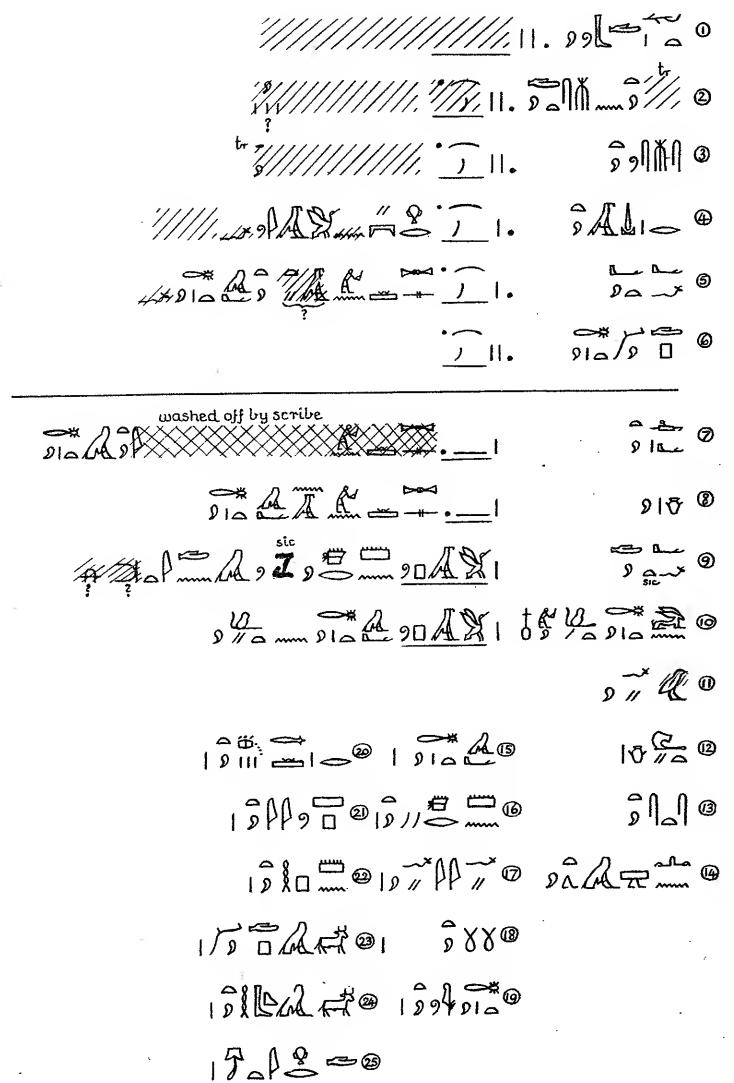
OSTRACON GARDINER 155.

239\*

On. Am., G 4, 9.

understanding  $\text{𠁥} \text{𠁦} \text{𠁨}$  as the 'beard', not the 'tail', of the serpent (*Shipwrecked Sailor*, 63), but the passage from Lacau, *Textes religieux*, LII, 5, which he quotes and which speaks of 'this  $\text{𠁥} \text{𠁦} \text{𠁨}$  of Rec-Atum which was taken away on that day of rebellion' may perhaps more probably refer to the 'tail'. Here neither 'beard' nor 'tail' is likely: not 'beard', since Dawson is in all probability justified in thinking that On. Am. enumerates only the parts of an ox, not of the human body; not 'tail', since the position suggests proximity to head and neck and since the ordinary word for 'tail' (*sd*) occurs as no. 594.

**584**  $\text{𠁥} \text{𠁦} \text{𠁨}$  G, *hbt* 'breast', Copt. <sup>s</sup>EKIBE, Wb. V, 11, 2 ff.; On. Am. No. 310; in Ostr. Gardiner 155, rt. 7 two  $\text{𠁥} \text{𠁦} \text{𠁨}$  are mentioned, and this must surely be the same word. One Coptic sense is 'nipple', but this is by no means the only or the main sense. In connexion with the human body see Breasted, *Edu. Smith Pap.*, Text, pp. 342 f. In P. Ch. Beatty VIII, rt. 7, 6 the  $\text{𠁥} \text{𠁦} \text{𠁨}$  of the deceased is compared to 'the  $\text{𠁨} \text{𠁨}$  of Shoth, the scribe of Hekayet'; *cn* here is clearly the 'tablet' (*cn*, see Wb. I, 184, 13; a damaged example also  $\text{𠁨} \text{𠁨}$  P. Ch. Beatty III, rt. 4, 18, where I failed to recognize it) on which Shoth wrote; in my *Text* thereto *cn* was wrongly translated 'claw'; the comparison to a tablet suits the meaning 'breast'. **585**  $\text{𠁨} \text{𠁦} \text{𠁨}$  G, *lbt* *chey* 'vertebra of the upper back'. *Lbt* 'vertebra' is well-known, Wb. V, 400, 10 ff., where, however, it is taken merely as a later writing of the earlier masc. *lts*; the Coptic <sup>s</sup>XICE, <sup>b</sup>SICE (Irum, 190, with the more general meaning 'back') is fem. In human beings,  $\text{𠁨} \text{𠁨} \text{𠁨}$  *Anast.* IV, 9, 9-10 = III, 5, 11, also P. Mag. Vat. D 7 = ZAS XXXI, 123; in Ostr. Gardiner 155, rt. 4 the neck of the ox is said to have 7 vertebrae (*lbt*). The second element of the compound *chey* occurs written  $\text{𠁨} \text{𠁨}$  as part of an ox, P. Boul. XI, 5, 8 =



OSTRACON GARDINER 156.

Mélanges Maspero, I, 191, and the meaning 'ridgelike backbone' is evident in the description of the soldier forced to carry heavy loads (Anast. III, 5, 10-1 = IV, 9, 9), 'his neck (nhabt) forms a ridge (ḥ̄w var. ḥ̄w) like (the backbone of an) ass'. In Ostr. Gardiner 155, st. 10-1 ḥ̄w x̄ ḥ̄w st ch̄y is differentiated from ḥ̄w x̄ III st špt, single parts of the ox to the first of which, as probably also to the second, six vertebrae are assigned; the st špt is presumably the lower part of the backbone, a meaning which suits also its position after st ch̄y. Wb. I, 222, 9.10 quotes no other passages, and is scarcely justified in speaking of ch̄w as a part of the human, as well as of the animal, body. Dawson has supplied me with the following figures relating to the vertebrae of an ox: (a) cervical, 7, (b) thoracic, 13, (c) lumbar, 6, (d) sacral, 5, (e) caudal, 19; the two parts of the back above quoted appear to correspond to (c) and (d). See further below under No. 594. [586] ḥ̄w x̄ q. G, pds (sic), doubtless for pds 'back', see Wb. I, 556.6, which quotes Two Brothers, 14.6; Mar., Dend. IV, 37, [69] for the word as referring to an ox; the determinative x̄ prohibits us from identifying this entry with pdsu, for which see my remarks on On. Ram. No. 284. [587] ḥ̄w q. G, spr 'rib', very common, of man as well as of an ox, Copt. <sup>s</sup> cpiρ, <sup>b</sup> cphiρ, Wb. IV, 101, 10 ff. [588]

ḥ̄w ll ss q. G, m̄st 'thighs' or the like; this meaning, so defined by Erman, Westcar, p. 41 (Oberschenkel), is unjustifiably replaced by 'knee' in Wb. II, 32, 4 ff.; the general sense is indicated by the phrase tp hr m̄st 'head on lap' as sign of mourning; as an edible part of an ox, besides here only Wenamun, 1, 10; in the Myth of Horus ḥ̄w ll ss Chass., Edfou, VI, 74, 4 has as variant ḥ̄w ss ibid. 45, 10.12, and both appear from the accompanying picture to signify the 'haunches' of a

hippopotamus (so Blackman, JEA XXIX, 15), but here both writings might belong to ḥ̄w msdt, Wb. II, 153, 1 ff., which appears to have that meaning. [589] ḥ̄w ll ss q. G, st-sty, of suspicious appearance and apparently omitted in Wb. [590] q G, hyp 'foreleg', Copt. <sup>s</sup> ωωπω, <sup>b</sup> ωωβω, Wb. III, 268, 4 ff., often of an ox. Cf. On. Ram. No. 275. Note, however, that in spite of the ideogram used in the writing, the word is used of human beings as well as animals, occurring in lists of parts of the body which undoubtedly refer to man, see (e.g.) ZÄS XXXI, 123. [591] ḥ̄w ll ss q. G, hyp-hyp (?) 'underpart (of) foreleg (?); not in Wb., but found written Chass., Edfou, VI, 85, 3; 89, 7 f., see JEA XXX, 11, n. 2; apart from this evidence it would be disputable whether hyp belongs here or to the foregoing item. In any case the alternative here adopted seems preferable, the simpler and more familiar word being placed before the unfamiliar compound; on the other hand, Pyr. 154.6 a distinguishes ḥ̄w ll ss hyp hri 'upper foreleg' and ḥ̄w ll ss hyp hri 'lower foreleg'. [592] ḥ̄w q G, dpt 'loins', Copt. <sup>s</sup> †ne, <sup>b</sup> †ni, see Dévaud, Et. d'éym. copte, 18 ff.; here and in some other passages, as well as in Coptic, apparently designates a fairly well-defined portion in the lower part of the back. But, as Dawson points out with special reference to On. Ram. Nos. 290-2, the word appears to have also a more general sense; perhaps 'joint' would be the best rendering; Dawson quotes the form in the accompanying figure, Petrie, Kahun, Pl. 5. In the narrower sense the sing. fem. may be dual in meaning; in Pleyte & Rossi, Pap. Turin, 125, 8 ḥ̄w ll ss q ll ss 'the dpt of his back' is identified with the two goddesses Satis and Anukis. Further discussion, Breasted, Edu. Smith Pap. pp. 399 f.;

Wb. V, 445, 16 knows of one or more examples concerning which it says: apparently the kidney.

[593] G, knkn, a joint of some sort,

Wb. V, 56, 11.12; see On. Ram. No. 303; Ostr. Gardiner 155, vs. 1 (noted as two in number); Naville, Deir el Bahari, (V), 141; P. Ch. Beatty IX, rt. 109; in all these passages clearly as parts of an ox.

[594] G,

sd 'tail', Copt. <sup>sb</sup> CAT.

[595] G, dnh, perhaps the upper part of the foreleg, shoulder, Copt. <sup>s</sup> XNAZ, <sup>b</sup> ONAZ 'forearm'; cf. the remarks by Spiegelberg ZAS LVI, 10, dealing with Bergmann, Hier. u dem. Texte, 11, 5-6, where the and (demotic) are two members of the

Apis bull which are to be bandaged before the same is done to the two mny, i.e. the upper part of the hindleg, old mnt (Wb. II, 68, 14, cf. On. Ram. No. 249; Ostr. Gardiner 155, rt. 8); this interpretation is favoured by the evident relationship to the old word dnh 'wing', which, however, has yielded Copt. <sup>3</sup> TNZ, <sup>b</sup> TENZ. Wb. V, 548, 11.12 treats the word here, said to be rare, under the heading (Dyn. XVIII), the source of which is unknown to me; the late variant there quoted is from P. Rhind I, hierat. 3, 4.

[596] pr-dsiw (pdi?), only here according to Wb. I, 518, 10, but an example occurs in P. Berlin 10462 (Dyn. XXI, a fragment akin to P. Boulaq XX; I possess a photograph), where the god undertakes to keep in health the various parts of the deceased's body; is placed after wf 'lung' and before , but no significant order seems to be observed. It is tempting to find this word also in the demotic Apis ritual Bergmann, op. cit. 17, 11; here is read by Spiegelberg (ZAS LVI, 30), but the initial sign = differs only by a stroke from = ; in this context the word is

<sup>1</sup> Before pr-dsiw stands [p. 45] 'her two kidneys'; giving us the Egyptian prototype of Copt. <sup>sb</sup> SΛWT for the first time; is damaged but, I think, certain.

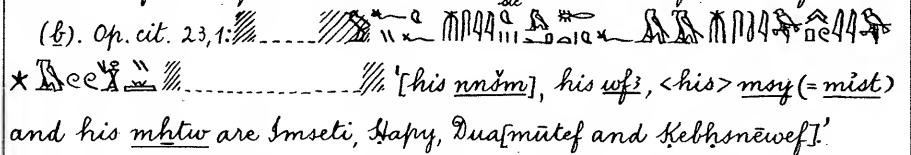
plural and is used of some part of the head of the Apis bull.

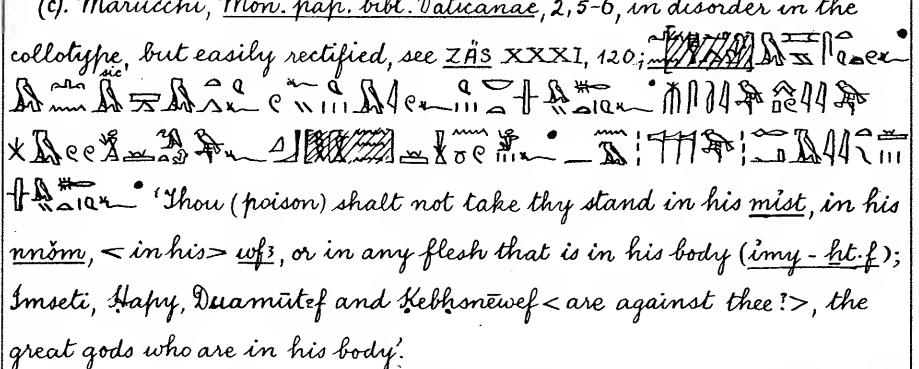
[597] G, grgylt, apparently known to Wb. V, 190, 11 only from this entry. Ostr. Gardiner 155, rt. 5.6 places after hypō 'foreleg' and before dru 'side' (see below, No. 605); of grgylt it says, '2, each (with) 3 ribs, making 6'; and of dru, '2, each (with) 10, making 20'; Dawson makes the comment: 'These two together are evidently the parts adjacent to the thoracic vertebrae, of which there are 13 in the ox, each articulated to a pair of ribs, making the 26 above. The grgylt is clearly the "wing-rib" and "prime-rib" of butchers, and dru the rest of the ribs'.

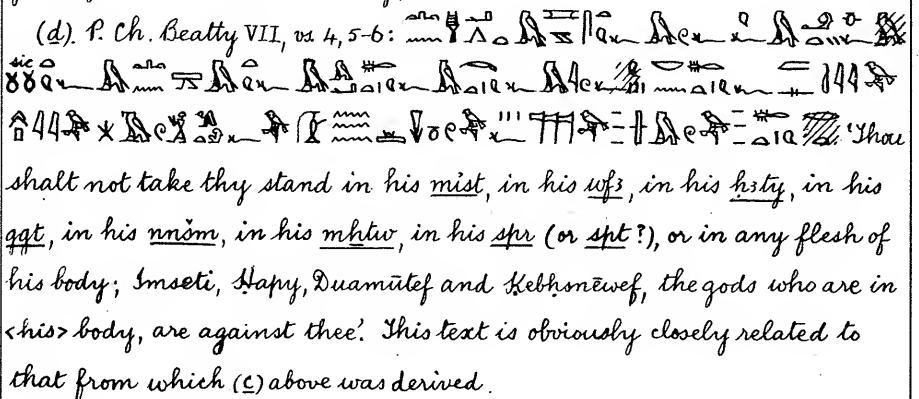
[598] G, mist 'liver', Old Copt. MAOYCE (Crum, 201; the unexplained change of i into w is confirmed by the demotic, see below), a very frequently mentioned part of the body, both in human beings and in the ox, Wb. II, 44, 11 ff. In the latter application beside nn̄m in the longer list of offerings, see Junker, Giza II, 89-91; also see Ostr. Gardiner 156, where all the viscera below discussed are found together (ll. 11-6). The meaning 'liver', only hesitatingly accepted by Wb., is certainly right. In several magical texts (1) mist is closely associated with three other inner organs the identity of which is definitely established, mainly through the Greek and Arabic equivalents of their Coptic names: these are (2) nn̄m, later ns, 'spleen' (below, No. 600), (3) wf 'lung' (below, No. 599) and (4) imy-hbt or mhtw 'intestines' (below, No. 602); the published transcriptions not being in all cases wholly accurate, I reproduce the few passages of the kind known to me, the five first hieratic ones carefully collated:

(a). Pleyte & Rossi, Pap. Iurin., 125, 9-10: (an easy and certain corruption of 'his nn̄m',

his mist, his wf<sub>3</sub> and his mhtw are Imseti, Hapy, Duamutef and Kebhsnewef'. The four deities are well-known as the four sons of Horus.

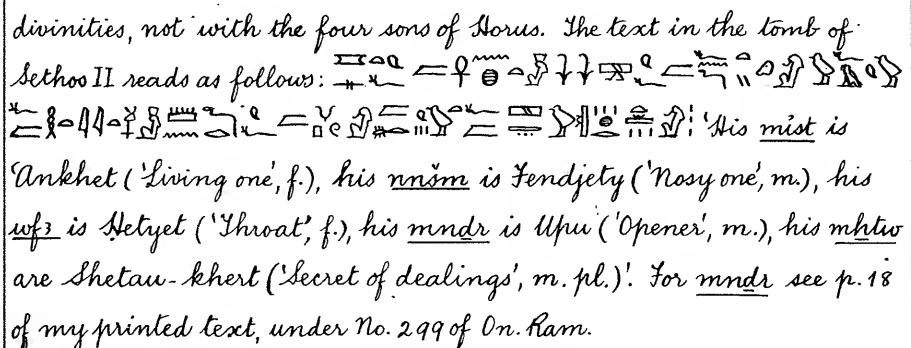
(b). Op. cit. 23, 1:  [his nn̄m], his wf<sub>3</sub>, <his> mst (= mist) and his mhtw are Imseti, Hapy, Duamutef and Kebhsnewef'.

(c). Marucchi, Mon. pap. bibl. Vaticanae, 2, 5-6, in disorder in the collotype, but easily rectified, see ZAS XXXI, 120;  'Thou (poison) shalt not take thy stand in his mist, in his nn̄m, <in his> wf<sub>3</sub>, or in any flesh that is in his body (imy-ht. f); Imseti, Hapy, Duamutef and Kebhsnewef <are against thee?>, the great gods who are in his body.'

(d). P. Ch. Beatty VII, vs 4, 5-6:  'Thou shalt not take thy stand in his mist, in his wf<sub>3</sub>, in his hst, in his qqt, in his nn̄m, in his mhtw, in his spr (or spt?), or in any flesh of his body; Imseti, Hapy, Duamutef and Kebhsnewef, the gods who are in <his> body, are against thee.' This text is obviously closely related to that from which (c) above was derived.

(e). P. Ch. Beatty VIII, rt. 8, 2 ff. is a more complex kind of text, where the sons of Horus are not mentioned, but where mist, wf<sub>3</sub> and ns (= nn̄m), wf<sub>3</sub> and ht (corresponding to mhtw of the other texts) occur in that order.

(f). Naville, Litanie du Soleil, 14, 36 = 20, 41 = 32, 33 identifies the same four organs (supplemented by a fifth) with some obscure

divinities, not with the four sons of Horus. The text in the tomb of Sethos II reads as follows:  'His mist is Ankhet ('Living one', f), his nn̄m is Fendjety ('Nosy one', m.), his wf<sub>3</sub> is Hetjet ('Throat', f), his mndr is Upu ('Opener', m.), his mhtw are Shetau-khert ('Secret of dealings', m. pl.).' For mndr see p. 18 of my printed text, under No. 299 of On. Am.

(g) Möller, Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind, pp. 18-9. The hieratic text gives the four sons of Horus in their invariable order as above. The accompanying demotic text presents a difficulty of reading as regards the part of the body represented by Hapy, and for Duamutef has p3 ky 'the other'. Imseti, however, answers to p3 mws (Old Copt. maoyce, see above; the demotic word is found in Griffith & Thompson, Dem. Mag. Pap. 21, 31 in a similar list of internal organs), and Kebhsnewef is identified with mht.

There is only one point in which all seven texts are in perfect agreement, namely that mhtw (var. imy-ht, dem. mht) occupies the last place, which is that belonging to Kebhsnewef whenever the sons of Horus are mentioned. In c, d, e, f and g mist comes first, in c, d, and g being identified with Imseti; and since paronomasia has here played an unmistakable part, we may regard the equation mist = Imseti as settled. The first and fourth places being thus allocated, there remains only the problem of the second and third. Nn̄m takes precedence of wf<sub>3</sub> in five cases (a, [b], c, e, f) against one (d), though the one exception receives some support from the order in On. Am., where mist is No. 598, wf No. 599 and ns No. 600. Accordingly, we must admit that the philological evidence tends

to equate *nns* with Hapy, and *wf* with Duamutef. We shall now see that the archaeological testimony reverses this position.

The internal organs corresponding to the four Egyptian names mist, nrm, wf and mktw were regularly extracted from the body in course of mummification (the heart being left in it), and were enclosed in the so-called Canopic jars. The complex and varying religious interpretations of these jars have been discussed in Sethe, Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern in Sitz. Berlin, 1934. The organs actually placed in the jars bearing the names, and in later times also displaying the heads, of the four 'children of Horus' (msw hr, see Wb. II, 139, 13) are said to show great variation in the earlier periods, though further material and closer investigation are required. Definite and valuable information was obtained by G. Elliot Smith (Mém. de l'inst. 8q. V, 35 ff.) from mummies of Dyn. XXI, an age when the internal organs were returned to the body separately wrapped and with the appropriate wax images of the four gods enclosed in the packets. Even here there was some inconsistency, but it was plainly established that the liver was associated with Imseti, the lungs with Hapy and the intestines with Hebhsmewef; the organ connected with Duamutef was rather more doubtfully identified as the stomach, see below on No. 600.

In respect of mist the case may now be stated as follows:— It will now be agreed that the four organs associated with the Canopic jars were liver, stomach (or rather spleen, see below), lungs and intestines, and further that the names of these four organs were mist, nn̄sm, wf<sup>3</sup> and mhtw; since then on purely philological evidence nn̄sm = 'spleen', wf<sup>3</sup> = 'lungs' and mhtw = 'intestines' (see

the special treatment of each below), it results by elimination that mist must signify 'liver', and this is corroborated by the interlocking facts that (a) mist is clearly equated by the texts with Imseti, and that (b) Elliot Smith's researches have proved a definite connexion between Imseti and the liver.

In view of this demonstration little weight need be attached to the shape of the object corresponding to the word mist in pictures or as its determinative in hieroglyphic writing. For completeness' sake, however, examples of both kinds of representation are here quoted without further comment: (1) pictures: Mar., Mast. 274.

277 men bring the object a depicted in the accompanying figure, and are being requested to bring mist and nnšm; Petrie, Kahun, Pl. 5 shows an offering-table of Dyn. XII on which mist is depicted as b in the figure; (2) determine W, N (similarly for nnšm ibid. 83); Dan mist o, nnšm o; Petrie, Denderah, Pl. 4; mist Pl. 1 mist o.



a



1

[599] ፩ . : G. wf<sup>(i)</sup> 'lings', earlier written ፩ ፩ wf<sub>3</sub>, see Wb. I, 306, 3,  
Copt. <sup>s</sup> ḥyoq, ḥywq, <sup>b</sup> boy, corresponding to Gk. πνεύμων (Crum, 505);  
presumably the original pronunciation was \* waf<sub>3</sub>ew, cf. Copt. <sup>sb</sup> 204  
~~፩ ፩~~ \*haf<sub>3</sub>ew 'make'; ॥a ffy in On. Ram. No. 301 appears to be  
a different word, see the printed text, p. 17. Almost certainly to be iden-  
tified with ḥapy among the Canopic jars, see above under No. 598.

[600] ~~—~~<sup>—</sup> G. nō 'spleen', later writing (cf. also ~~—~~<sup>—</sup> P. Ch. Beatty VIII, st. 8, 5.6; ~~—~~<sup>—</sup> P. Berlin 10462 [Dyn. XXI]) of ~~—~~<sup>—</sup> ~~—~~<sup>—</sup> nñsm with many variants collected in Gunn, Studies, 84.87.92, the oldest being ~~—~~<sup>—</sup> ~~—~~<sup>—</sup>

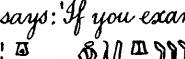
Pyr. 83, see too Wb. II, 276, 17 ff.; Copt. <sup>5</sup> NOEI<sup>W</sup>, <sup>6</sup> NWI<sup>W</sup>, in scalae corresponding to ΣΠΛΗΝ and to JL<sup>b</sup>, see Crum, 236; used alike of animals, e.g. spleen of an ox, often beside mist 'liver' in the longer list of offerings, Junker, Giza II, 89-92, and of human beings, this especially in connexion with the children of Horus and the Canopic jars, see under No. 598. There we saw that the archaeological evidence, not in accord with the philological, pointed to nsm, ns being equated with Duamutef, and Elliot Smith's material appeared to indicate the stomach rather than the spleen; however, that investigator's account expressly noted that stomach, spleen, etc. are very difficult to distinguish in a shrunken, desiccated state. The preference should be given to the meaning 'spleen', since there seems no good reason for doubting the testimony of the scalae; moreover, at least one list of parts of the body (P. mag. Vatican, see ZÄS XXXI, 123) names apart from nsm the term r-n-ib (var. of the more usual r-ib, see Wb. II, 393, 14), which is generally recognized as the name of the 'stomach', see ZÄS XXXI, 60, n. 1 and as against Ebbell's rendering Magenmund (Act. Or. XV, 296) Dawson's remarks JEA XXIV, 251. For a picture and determinatives of nsm see under mist, No. 598.

[601] ȝ<sup>9</sup>, ȝ<sup>1</sup>. G. h3ty 'heart'; Copt. <sup>58</sup> ȝHT, Wb. III, 24, 1 ff. The word means literally 'that which is in front' and early had to compete with JL<sup>b</sup>, usually ȝ, ib, a word common to Egyptian and Semitic, cf. Hebr. בַּל, Arab. بَلْ; the latter seems to have left no trace in Coptic, its place having been taken by ȝHT. Wb. and scholars generally have found the distinction between the two difficult to define except on the broadest lines, see Piankoff, Le 'coeur' dans les textes égyptiens, ch. 1; Grapow, Über die anatom. Kenntnisse (Morgenland, Heft 26), 13 ff.

Though some enumerations of parts of the human body (Mutter u. Kind, vs. 5, 3; Book of Dead, ch. 172 [ed. Budge, 444, 14]; Metternich stela, 22 f.) name both, others give only h3ty (P. Turin, 125, 8; P. Ch. Beatty VII, vs. 4, 5; VIII, rt. 7, 12 f.; P. mag. Vatican, see ZÄS XXXI, 123), and it is common knowledge that h3ty was the more physiological term (see too Pyr. 1310); it may even be asked whether ib in the three first-named enumerations does not refer to the same organ, but under its psychical aspect; for the latter use of ib see the book by Piankoff, passim. On the other hand, the term r-ib (or r-n-ib, see on No. 600), though very rare in lists, is undoubtedly a physiological term signifying 'stomach', and since it literally means 'opening of the heart (ib)', appears to imply that ib was a physiological term likewise. This is confirmed by a few decisive passages quoted Wb. I, 59, 10, especially the passage Ebers 42, 9, which uses the expression ȝ<sup>9</sup> ȝ<sup>1</sup> ȝ<sup>9</sup> ȝ<sup>1</sup> 'his heart thumps'; Wb. assumes, probably rightly, that ȝ<sup>1</sup> there reads ib, and that in fact it cannot be read h3ty in the older periods unless ȝ is preceded by phonetic signs (ȝ<sup>9</sup> ȝ<sup>1</sup>, ȝ<sup>9</sup> ȝ<sup>1</sup>). To this rule, however, there is a probable exception in some O.K. scenes of butchery: in these scenes ȝ<sup>9</sup> ȝ<sup>1</sup> is regularly used for the 'heart' of a slaughtered ox (Montet, Scènes, 167 ff.), but occasionally ȝ is employed, Montet, op. cit. 143, 13 as compared with 12; 144, 2; a third instance, Erman, Reden, Rufe (Abh. Berlin, 1919), 13. It is surprising that Ostr. Gardner 156, 8. 12, enumerating the parts of an ox, gives both ȝ<sup>1</sup> ib and ȝ<sup>9</sup> ȝ<sup>1</sup> h3ty; the former has the gloss ȝ<sup>9</sup> ȝ<sup>1</sup> ȝ<sup>9</sup> ȝ<sup>1</sup> 'tying together (?) (or 'ruler'?) of the viscera', and may thus be used for 'abdomen' generally. In Late Egyptian h3ty is in process of replacing, and in many cases has completely replaced, ib as seat of the emotions and intelligence. At what date ib

finally disappeared is uncertain. [602] + G, imy-h̥t, here clearly from the context identical with the word given by Wb. II, 135, 4 ff. as m̥htw, Copt. <sup>s</sup>Maq̥t, <sup>b</sup>Maqt, masc., in its wider sense translating such Greek words as ἐντερα, οὐλάρχυα. The narrower sense 'intestines' is proved archaeologically and philologically by the evidence centring around the four children of Horus and the Canopic jars, see above under No. 598, where it was seen that m̥htw is unambiguously associated with Kebhsnewef. Especially striking is the evidence of demotic and Coptic, the latter having MEZTO and MEZTCW as equivalent of κώλων and ΜΑΖΤ WHM translated in Arabic by الصغار musran (Crum, 212); correspondingly Griffith & Thompson, Dem. Mag. Pap. 21, 31 has m̥ht c̥ and m̥ht sm in company with liver, lungs and spleen, and P. Rhind I, 2 d 12 (Möller, p. 18) has m̥ht c̥ corresponding to Kebhsnewef in the hieratic. Wb. II, 135, 4 distinguishes m̥htw from imy-h̥t with similar sense (Wb. I, 75, 8), but of the examples it quotes for the latter  Pyr. 402 is possibly irrelevant, meaning quite generally 'what is in their bodies', while Metternich stela, 31 and P. Rhind I, 2 h 7 are in all probability real variants of this m̥htw, as is absolutely certain in No. 140 above, where G has and H . Wb. II, 135, 4 regards and variants as a formation in m- from ht (so already Grapow in Abh. Berlin, 1914, 28), and this view is supported, not only by  Pyr. 1122, but also by such writings as Naville, Litanie du Soleil, 14, 36 = 32, 33, which, though late, may well rest on an old tradition justifying the reading m̥htw with final -w. It seems, accordingly, nearly certain that is only a late variant of m̥htw, and one which mistakenly treats the latter as a compound 'what is in the body'. Wb. I, 75, 8 should, therefore, either be expunged or else given merely as a cross-reference to m̥htw; for later

representing an initial m-, see above under No. 134. In conclusion, note that Ostr. Gardiner 156 uses the word both in the wider (l. 8, quoted above under No. 601) and in the more special sense (l. 17), in both cases referring to parts of an ox. [603] G, rem, meaning unknown, not in Burchardt or Wb. On. Ram. No. 302 has and since that text uses phonetically for m̥w in Nos. 261, 264 it is not improbable that rem is the true reading, not rdi-m̥w as a compound; with this hypothesis agrees the place in both On. Ram. and On. Am. between the viscera and shn (On. Ram. No. 306; On. Am. No. 604). Ostr. Gardiner 156, 22 has a word towards the end of its list of parts of an ox, which might be a misreading. In our ignorance of the meaning of rem, no attempt can be profitably made to explain the determinative  in G, unless it be due to the influence of rm, the common general word for 'fish'. [604] G, shn, in the longer offering-list of the Old Kingdom zhnu and varr (Pyr. 38, Junker, Giza II, 90), not impossible the 'sweetbread' (pancreas), as independently suggested by Dawson (Ms note) and by Ebbell in Act. Or. XV, 302 ff.; however, see an important alternative hypothesis due to Dawson at the end of my comments on this number. This piece of meat is very often named, Wb. III, 470, 14; op. cit. 471, 1 curiously interprets the picture with legend Petrie, Kahun, Pl. 5 (see the accompanying figure) as a cake in the shape of this joint, whereas it obviously depicts the meat itself, the altar whence this figure is taken being a pictorial representation of the longer offering-list. Outside that list shn occurs e.g. in Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, 18, 35; On. Ram. No. 306; obscurely several times in P. Boulaq XI = Mélanges Maspero, I, 188 ff.; always apparently as belonging to an ox, never in lists of parts of the human body; curiously absent from Ostr. Gardiner 155-156. In Ebers 38, 5 (Q); 42, 11 (Q); 105, 2 (Q) a word shn occurs, but Textual Note. 604<sup>a</sup> Perhaps a perversion of YY owing to the confusion of  with  'prop'; 'supports'.

not as name of part of the body; the last-named passage may throw light on the nature of this piece of meat; it says: 'If you examine a swelling of fat in his throat, and find it like  a gathering of flesh, soft under your fingers....' This certainly would not be inappropriate to a sweetbread; Ebel notes the point, though he has not expressed it very happily. — A later note for which I am indebted to Dawson reads as follows: 'There is a possible alternative to "pancreas". shn may mean the mass of fat in which the kidneys are enveloped, which is very large in the ox and constitutes the best quality "kidney-suet" of modern butchers. This also quite well suits the sense of the passage from Pap. Ebers which you quote. If it was the custom of the Egyptian butchers to cut out the kidney-suet in one piece with the kidneys still inside it, this might account for the absence of the latter from the offering-lists and other lists of body-parts, although the kidneys are such large and conspicuous objects when removed from their enveloping suet. The form in the Kahun picture is approximately correct for the whole group, i.e. the suet with the kidneys inside'. This revised suggestion appeals to me the more, since one sense of the stem shn, shn is 'to envelop', cf. the determinative . 605  G, drww 'flank', 'side'; Wb. V, 602, ff., used alike of animals and of man, a very common word. A picture Capart, Rue, Pl. 56 shows a large piece of meat showing many ribs, which is described in the accompanying legend as  'this side' of beef, cf. Montet, Scènes, 168. In some determinatives the ribs on both sides of the sternum are shown, e.g. Nav., Jodtb. 18, 31, but since the duality of the term is often insisted upon (of human beings, right drww and left drww, Pleyte & Rossi, Pap. Turin, 125, 7, cf. Nav., Litanie du Soleil, 14, 37=20, 42=32, 34), it seems that in such cases the writer was thinking of both sides

together; most informative of all is the mention in Ostr. Gardiner 155, rt. 6 quoted above under No. 597, where the ox is said to have two drww, each with 10 ribs. The word is also used in the general sense 'side' for the two sides of the nose (P. Edw. Smith, 5, 14). Other early examples with regard to drww of bull or ox, P. vet. Kahun, 41-2; ZAS XLV, Pl. 8, A; On. Ram. No. 274.

606  G, trat, some part of an ox not determined, probably only here, Wb. V, 388, 6.

607  G, kbb, part of the leg or foot, Wb. V, 26, 1.2; not many examples are known; one is in the autobiography of Rekhmire, ZAS LX, 72 'the steps of him who defied (? btm) his lord  by his foot (?) or his nostril'; the sense here is obscure, and still more so in a description of coffins that have been made, Botti & Peet, Giornale, Pl. 40, 9   - - - - - ing it with kbbw - - - ; there the editors suggest doubtfully a comparison with Copt. <sup>5</sup> KWBZ, <sup>8</sup> KOBZ 'sinew' (Crum, 100), of which an example appears to occur in Griffith & Thompson, Dem. Mag. Pap. vs. 19, 2, where it is rendered 'heel-tendon', but the context is uninformative. Lastly, Ostr. Gardiner 156, 24 has a mysterious entry  'ox as(?) kbb', followed by the numeral 1.

608  G, iwf (if) w3d 'raw meat', with  for  as often; iwf w3d (as εργωμτ Crum, 493) is found a number of times in the medical papyri as a bandage for wounds, Wb. I, 265, 12; w3d in the sense of 'raw' ibid. 11, a passage contrasting it with ps 'cook', as here, being Peas. B1, 246; other examples, Wb. I, 551, 7.

609  G, iwf (if) ps 'cooked meat', Wb. I, 551, 9; ps sometimes means 'boil' in contrast to  'roast', but here it clearly has the wider sense 'cook'.

610  G, iwf sndm

Textual Note. 609<sup>a</sup> see note <sup>a</sup> on No. 141. 610<sup>a</sup> ? has been omitted.

Supplement, C1, 1-2.

'spiced meat', lit. 'sweetened'; Wb. IV, 186, 11 evidently knows of no other example.

Here G ends at the bottom of a page, and the remainder of On. Am. is lost.

## SUPPLEMENT.

Here are appended a few notes on the papyrus fragments C1-4 and D published in Spiegelberg, Hierat. Ostr. Ramesseum, Pls. 43, 43A and transcribed on my Pl. 21. The hand is indistinguishable from that of R, and these unplaced scraps may possibly have belonged to that papyrus; but no trace remains in G of a section devoted, like frags. C1-4, to birds, or like fragm. D, to quadrupeds. The Ramesseum Onomasticon has sections corresponding to both. It seems pointless to speculate about words of which the initial consonants are lost, or of which the remains are insufficient to establish the identity, and my remarks will deal solely with such names as are relatively certain. [C1, l.1] " " 3bnr, unidentified; no other examples are known to me besides those quoted Wb. I, 8, 6. [C1, l.2] py(w?) hn[nt] 'those that fly and alight (?)', i.e. all birds; to the examples quoted Wb. I, 494, 14 (earliest at El-Amānah) add P. Ch. Beatty IV, st. 4, 6; XIII, 10, the latter with the spelling for earlier as here. Expressions for contrasted actions analogous to Engl. come and go are not uncommon in Egyptian, and I suspect that the above-quoted interpretation, which is that generally accepted, is right. Nevertheless it is strange that each of the two elements should have the bird-determinative;

Textual Note. C1, 1. ♫ is a more exact transcription than ♪ in my plate.

Supplement, C3, 3-C4, 1.

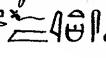
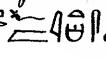
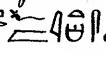
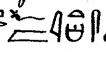
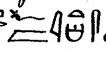
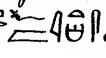
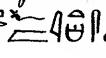
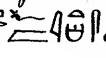
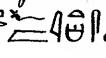
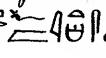
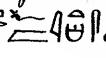
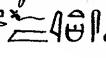
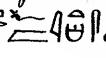
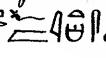
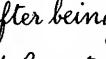
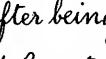
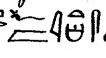
for a moment I thought of 'those that hop' (cf ♪ 'jump' in Doomed Prince, 6, 5) and those that run', but hni means 'alight', not 'run'. In any case these descriptive terms are here, amid distinct species of birds, entirely out of place. [C3, l.3] mnit well illustrates the difficulty of Egyptian lexicography, but a better attempt might have been made to cope with this particular problem than has been achieved by Wb. There a distinction is rightly drawn between mnwt 'swallow', Copt. <sup>5</sup> BHNE, <sup>8</sup> BHNI (II, 68, 2 ff.) and mnwt 'pigeon' (II, 79, 3 f.), but no example with i is quoted for either word; the spelling mnyt in Ebers, 28, 21 ('blood of mnyt') is classified under mnwt in the text of Wb. II, 77 (after 7) and again 79, 3 (among the variants of mnwt), but in the Belegstellen (II, 68, 3) is assigned to mnt 'swallow'; again, occurring after msit (Wb. II, 143, 3) and spdw-n-mw 'water-fowl' in Harris, 38, a, 7 is listed under mnwt 'pigeon' in Belegstellen to II, 79, 3, probably rightly, since the example is found in a list of edible offerings, but no attention is paid to mn in precisely the same context Harris, 20, b, 7. The probabilities, then, indicate that the variants with i and y belong to mnwt 'pigeon', unless we have to postulate a third word; whether mnt is an authentic variant of mnwt in O.K. and M.K. seems uncertain (I have not investigated the matter), but provisionally I have taken in On. Ram. (No. 121) to mean 'pigeon', since that interpretation better suits the geese that precede. A last comment on Wb. is necessary: II, 75, 14 gives mnit as a late sq. word for Weideplatz der Gänse, stating it to be found with the article t3 and quoting as variants , ; the Belegstellen cite only one example of the word, and I am unfortunately unable to supply the two that are missing.

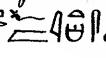
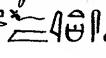
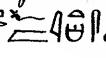
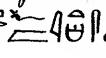
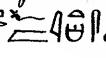
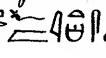
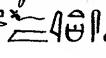
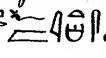
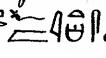
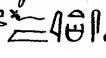
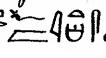
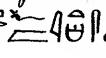
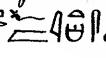
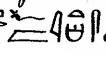
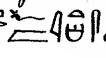
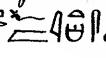
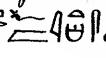
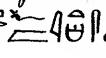
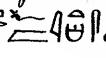
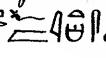
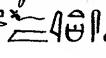
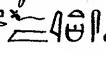
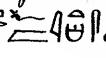
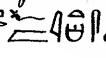
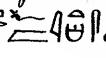
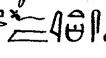
[C4, l.1] If h3it is the true reading here, the word may be the

**XII** 44-~~5~~ b3yt of Wb. III, 16, 1, to which the meaning Art esbare geflügel is given; the source of this is probably Sall. IV, vs. 4, 8, an obscure passage in which various birds are named in parallelism; in the Dream-book (P. Ch. Beatty III, rt. 8, 9) I have translated 'If a man see himself in a dream ~~of~~ **XII** 44-~~5~~ folding his wings around himself (?)', but is not 'having the head of a b3yt-bird' a much more plausible rendering?

C 4 l. 3  gm(t) 'black ibis', Plegadis falcinellus, see the admirable note by Keimer, Ann. Serv. XXX, 20 ff. D The page to which this fragment belonged appears to have been concerned solely with domesticated quadrupeds. D, ll. 2, 3 since  'donkey' occurs in both lines, it is likely that a number of different kinds of donkey were specified, in which case each  must have been accompanied by a differentiating adjective or noun; in l. 3 one is tempted to restore  ~~~~  c3 dmi 'town donkey', though the postulated sense does not inspire confidence. D, l. 4  idt (?) 'cow'; for similar writings cf.  Boeser, Beschreibung, IV, Pl. 18, four examples with accompanying names and pictures of heifers ploughing;           'cows of Cyprus', Anast. IV, 17, 9; several examples of  in an enumeration of cattle, Ram. Adm. Doc. 19; so too P. Berlin 9785, b. 11, see ZÄS XLIII, 38 f.;   'the cow that bare the bull', Pitankhi, 158 f. Direct proof that this word is identical with earlier  is afforded by (e.g.) the name of Osiris        leps, Sodtb. 143, 25 compared with  -  with variants  and  Nav., Sodtb. II, p. 368 or again by      'milk of a white cow', leps, op. cit. 144, 30 compared with           'milk of four white cows' in the earlier version of Nu, Budge, BD 333, 11-2. The same conclusion is indicated by the fact that the sign  is used in place of earlier  (1) in the subsidiary meaning 'female' (Wf. III, 76, 12 ff.).

e.g. in  $\text{P} \text{H} \text{R}$  'a she-ass', Pleyte & Rossi, Pap. Turin, 9, 6 compared with  $\text{P} \text{H} \text{R}$  'female gazelle', Montet, Scènes, 136 (we shall see that  $\text{P} \text{H}$  and  $\text{P}$  are variants of one another) and (2) in what was clearly the originating word  $\text{P}$  'womb', 'vulva' Wb. III, 76, 1 ff., compare  $\text{P}$  P. med. Berlin, vs. 1, 1 with  $\text{P}$  P. med. Kahun, passim;  $\text{P}$  Ebers, 96, 7, 17, etc. For the older writings of the word for 'cow' cf.  $\text{P}$  Pyr. 531 ('milk of two black cows'), the same word also being written  $\text{P}$  Pyr. 568, 5 b9;  $\text{P}$  Ebers, 75, 6 ('cow's milk');  $\text{P}$  (parallel to  $\text{P}$  k3 'bull'), Wb. IV, 1020, 10;  $\text{P}$  Destruction of Mankind, Sethos I, 44, 53; in O. K. scenes with pictures,  $\text{P}$ ,  $\text{P}$  and  $\text{P}$  Montet, Scènes, 98, 99, 155. Griffith has proved that  $\text{P}$ , F45 in my sign-list, represents the bicornate uterus of a heifer, Hieroglyphs, p. 60, and later also with a very convincing photograph, Kêmi, II, 83 with Pl. 3. Thus far there is no difference of opinion among scholars, but a serious difficulty arises over the reading of these words. Wb. III, 76 reads hmt, doubtless relying on the priority given to  $\text{O}$  in the Pyramid Texts spellings and in the later normal order  $\text{P}$ ;  $\text{O}$  here appears to be used phonetically, and it is assumed that the phonetic value can only be hm as in  $\text{P}$  hmt 'woman'. However, the writing with  $\text{P}$  first and  $\text{O}$  last in the spellings from the O. K. mastabas shows that  $\text{O}$  in the words in question is at least in part ideographic, and the possibility is not ruled out that here the reading may be different. Loret, in his important article on this topic Rec. trav. XVIII, 196 ff. pointed out that no weight can be attached to the isolated variant  $\text{P}$  Leps. Sodth. 148, 31, since there  $\text{P}$  is merely a deformation of  $\text{P}$ ; and he produced, after Brugsch, Wörterb. 135 f., the only piece of solid evidence we possess, namely the

words referring to the sun and the goddess of heaven 'he enters into her mouth in the morning and  and he comes out from her womb (or 'vulva')', Lepsius, Denkm. IV, 35, b = Bénédite, Philae, p. 137; another likewise very late passage from the same temple has, in a similar context,  Bénédite, op. cit., p. 131; Wb. I, 142, 21 gives both references, but does not mention the important variant  Brugsch, loc. cit. quoted demotic  doubtless from P. Leyd. 384, see Spiegelberg, Sonnenauge, glossary, No. 25 (the Leyden Magical writes cty, see Thompson's Index), and equated this with Copt. <sup>s</sup>OOTE, OTE, <sup>b</sup>OT 'womb'. Loret linked up the Coptic, demotic and Philae words with the signs ,  with the result that he equated  with  and , and similarly in the word for 'cow'; Montet (op. cit. qq. n. 1) interpreted Loret's view as indicating the reading id-t or, as I should write it, idt. This reading seems to me to have greater probability than that of Wb., since I feel that the later writings with , ,  are unlikely to have been mere graphic substitution of those signs, but must have had a phonetic reason as well. Now , as pointed out in L.-Eg. Misc., p. 54a, note 11a, is merely a later variant of , which may depict a bandage (Egyptian Gramm., sign-list, 73) and after being used in the word  idr 'bandage', 'bind' (so Wb. I, 14f., but Breasted, Edw. Smith Pap. pp. 229f. argues that the word means 'stitch', 'suture') was transferred, apparently for purely phonetic reasons, to  idr 'herd' of cattle, 'flock' of birds, Wb. I, 154, 12 ff. In no case, I think, can idr 'herd' be etymologically connected with the words for 'womb' (or 'vulva'), 'cow' and 'female animal', since these last never show the sign  until the end of Dyn. XVIII. If, as seems to me probable, the word for 'womb' was idt, Copt. <sup>s</sup>OOTE, <sup>b</sup>OT, and the word for 'cow' was idt likewise, the

reason for the introduction into them of the sign  may well have been the reduction of some form of the word for 'herd' (idr) to id with loss of the final r. Some such phonetic assimilation of the words for 'herd' and 'cow' might well account for the strange blunder  in Sinuhe, B119 in place of ; the great Sinuhe ostraca presented by me to the Ashmolean Museum writes  vindicating the rendering 'another herd'. As against this suggestion, however, it might be pointed out that the semi-hieroglyphic form of  in P. Edw. Smith, 8, 19. 20 differs from  only through its possession of a dot and a transverse tick. To turn to another body of evidence connected with the problem, Blackman (JEA XXX, 21 f., cf. also XXIX, 26, n. 10) and Fairman (Ann. Serv. XLIII, 243 f.) maintain that writings like ,  and  in the temple of Edfu all read Xépuis, and they explain these writings by the facts that (1)  reads hm, (2)  is a variant of  and consequently has the same reading, (3)  obtains the value hm from , Copt. <sup>s</sup>WHM. Their explanation assumes that hm has replaced hb or ht and that  is the weak ending i. This does not seem at all satisfactory, and I was inclined to prefer a different reading, namely idhw 'marshes', based on (1)  and  = id, (2)  idt written in late Egyptian   (but why the occasional omission?), and (4)  =  . Unhappily the spellings here under discussion appear really to be equivalents of Xépuis, firstly because  (Chass., Edfou, VI, 84, 3f.) is found as direct variant of  (op. cit. VI, 74, 2) in the words of Isis 'Lo, I am come as the Mother from Chemmis' (Fairman, op. cit. 274, n. 2) and secondly because  and  occur in parallelism Chass., op. cit. II, 89, 12, cf. II, 92, 4, and

being in parallelism, cannot well be identical. It seems, therefore, that ~~Ψ~~ must read hmī or the like, but I cannot help feeling sceptical about the change of hm into hmī which is offered as the explanation. It will be seen from this long discussion that, though a slight preference is here shown for the reading idt for 'cow' over Wb.'s reading hmt, the matter is very far from settled.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO THE PLATES.

Additions and Corrections, Pls. IXA-XXVII.

Pl. IXA, l. 7. Between  $\square$  and the rubric insert  $\exists$ .

Pl. XA, l. 2. Near the beginning for  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$  read  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$ .

— l. 10. After  $\text{f} \text{f}$  for  $\text{m} \text{m}$  read  $\text{m} \text{m}$ . Other places where the same correction must probably be made are l. 13, after  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d} \square$ ; Pl. XI A, l. 16, after  $\square \text{m} \text{f} \text{d} \text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$ ; Pl. XII A, l. 15, after the first sign  $\text{m} \text{m}$ , a doubtful case, see II, p. 231\*, under No. 532; Pl. XIII A, l. 1, after  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d} \text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$ .

— l. 11. For  $\text{f} \text{f} \text{m} \text{m}$  read  $\text{f} \text{f} \text{m} \text{m}$  and cancel the note <sup>a</sup> on 4, 11.

— l. 14. For  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$  read  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$ .

Pl. XI A, l. 3. For  $\text{f}$  read  $\text{f}$  or the like.

— l. 4. For  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$  read  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$ .

— l. 6. In  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$  the falcon would have been more correctly rendered as  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$ .

Pl. XIII A, l. 5. For  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$  read  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$  and delete note <sup>a</sup> thereon.

Pl. XIX. In the second line under the heading CONTINUATION for  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$  read  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$ .

Pl. XX, l. 20. At the beginning insert  $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$   $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$   $\text{m} \text{f} \text{d}$ , see Text, I, p. 129\*.

Pl. XXI, in fragment C, l. 1, for  $\text{f}$  the better transcription would have been  $\text{f}$ .

Pl. XXV, in the column VIII, P. HARRIS, in the entries 61, a, 8 and 61, a, 11 and in the column IX, P. WILBOUR, under III, § 151, for Min, Horus read Min-Hor.

Pl. XXVII, in the column VIII, P. HARRIS, in the entry 61, b, qin  $\text{f} \text{f} \text{m} \text{m}$  possibly  $\text{f}$  is to be read instead of  $\text{m}$ , see Text, II, p. 94\*, n. 1.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO THE TEXT VOLUMES.

Minor inconsistencies, perhaps excusable in a work the compiling of which has extended over so many years, will here be ignored, but it may be noted that for the well-known king of Dyn. XIX I have sometimes written Merenptah and sometimes Menepthah; on the whole I prefer the latter as being in agreement with the Απυεψθης of Manetho.

### VOL. I. PRINTED TEXT.

P. q, l. 17. As the critical note on Pl. II A observed, No. 162  $\text{f} \text{f} \text{m} \text{m}$ , followed after a space by a determinative of which only the tiniest trace is left, is more probably the quadruped htmt than the bird htm (Wb. III, 196, 7, 8). The entry intervenes between the list of birds and the list of quadrupeds, and might, accordingly, belong to either. But apart from the fact that No. 162 starts a new column, if the bird htm had been meant, surely the sign  $\text{f} \text{f} \text{m} \text{m}$  would have been in the determinative column; in its present position it can hardly be other than a phonetic determinative. Owing to a variant  $\text{f} \text{f} \text{m} \text{m}$  of the verb htm quoted Wb. III, 197, apparently from the Coffin Texts, it remains somewhat uncertain whether we have here a feminine word or not. In Late Egyptian texts (Anast. I, 19, 3-4; 23, 7; Sall. I, 7, 5) there is a feminine word htmt designating a dangerous animal encountered by travellers in Syria (Wb. III, 198, 14). In a valuable article (Orientalia, XIII, 193 ff.) Posener gives strong, though perhaps not absolutely conclusive, reasons for thinking that this word signifies 'bear', and certainly our texts offer no other name for that animal, though it is depicted several times. Posener thinks that the name literally means 'the destroyer' and that in late times it was used also for the female

*hippopotamus*, see Wb. III, 198, 7.

Pp. 10 f. In Säve-Söderbergh's admirable book Ägypten und Nubien, Lund, 1941, a chapter is devoted to the Middle Kingdom fortresses in Nubia (pp. 80 ff.); he had previously (pp. 30 ff.) shown that none of the existing ruins can be attributed to the Old Kingdom, and that the textual evidence was opposed to the former presence of any such. In discussing the Ramessseum list he cites the pages (overlooked by myself) dealing with this in Reisner's Kerma, II, 549 ff., and he employs a useful asterisk to indicate those of the fortresses the location of which is proved by means of finds on the spot. Such certain identifications are found in eight of the first fourteen of the fortresses enumerated in the Onomasticon, the exceptions being Nos. 1, 6, 7, 9, 10 and 13. No. 13 was certainly Biggah, though perhaps not on the island, but rather on the east bank. The most important problem is that of 'I<sup>n</sup>en', for which see S.-S., p. 92, with note 4; the most plausible conjecture equates this with the great structure at South Buhen (JEA III, 163 ff.). With the name of fortress No. 6 (probably Mirgissah) I have dealt in my first correction to the Plate volume; S.-S., p. 93 has realized that the rendering 'Overthrowing the Oasis-dwellers' was given by me before the true reading of the word for Oasis (wh.t) was substituted by Sethe (ZAS LVI, 44 ff.) for the earlier accepted wt, but he nevertheless retains that rendering, rather daringly writing 'Dr-wtjw (= wh.tjw'); I cannot believe in this, but have nothing better to propose.

P. 61, top line. Porter & Moss, loc. cit. ascribes the inscription to the reign of Ptolemy V, but since the cartouches, with their very characteristic blanks, are identical with those of the list of supplementary districts just described, doubtless we should attribute both texts to the same king, namely Ptolemy IX Alexander.

## VOL. I. AUTOGRAPHED TEXT.

P. 12\*, No. 61. See too for pst-land under Nos. 12 (p. 19\*, top) and 231 (p. 108\*), as well as my commentary on P. Wilbour, p. 24, n. 1.

P. 14\*, No. 70. It seems certain that the title King's mother was used in an approximative as well as a literal sense, since the stela Berlin 15bqq, shown in photograph Sethe, Das Hatschepsout-Problem, p. 14, fig. 1, accords to Queen Ahmose, the mother of Hashepsout, this title at a time when Hashepsout was not yet king, but only the great wife of Thutmose II. Hence the title King's mother can here refer only to Thutmose II and would be equivalent only to what English parlance describes as the king's 'mother-in-law'; but she was also his step-mother, his real mother being Mutnofre. Similarly also, it would seem, Queen Ahhotpe II.

P. 34\*, No. 111. Some facts bearing upon the question whether the terms z3 n pr and imy-r pr do not refer to one and the same official are set forth in my commentary on P. Wilbour, p. 131, under § 52.

P. 36\*, No. 118. A new explanation of the title Wr has been put forward by Junker in Die Götterlehre von Memphis (in Abh. Berlin, 1940), 24 ff. In commenting upon the Sabacōn stela (Das Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie), ll. 52 a, 53 he draws the conclusion that Wr, literally 'the great One', was a much-used designation of the Universal god (der Allgott) whom Heliopolitan doctrine called Atum, and he therefore interprets Wr as 'He who sees the great One', observing that it is known to have been the special privilege of the high-priest to behold the deity he worshipped. In support of his hypothesis Junker lays special stress on the earliest writings in which Wr precedes At (to the three quoted on p. 34\* of my commentary he adds Wr At Petrie,

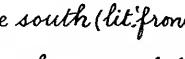
Medium, Pl. 13); the more usual writing  he explains by the orthographic habit which placed an honoured name before a word which was actually pronounced before it. Cogency is lent to Junker's argument by his reference to proper names like  , these displaying the same formation as (e.g.)  ; in connexion with these names he notes that no early compounds with  'Atm Atum have been found, his inference being that the common parlance substituted Wr for 'Atm. Further persuasive evidence is afforded by the O. K. title  (Murray, Index, Pl. 19), obviously a counterpart of  , see Wb. III, 347, 4. These facts show that the new theory is one to be seriously reckoned with. None the less I find it hard to believe that Junker has hit upon the truth. I freely admit having dismissed in an unjustifiable fashion the early examples which place  before , nor have I any really plausible alternative to the explanation offered by Junker. Also the history of the  formula and of  shows that later re-interpretation was frequent in Egyptian religious matters, and may well have been so in the case of  , as witnessed by writings like  . However, it is very hard to believe that any later re-interpretation could have involved a change in the traditional order of words; if the original order was m3 wr it would surely have remained the same at a later date, and in that case we should expect at least some occasional variants in which that word-order was preserved. Of any such variants we actually find not a trace, and it seems paradoxical to assume a reading m3-wr for later times. My provisional verdict, therefore, is that Junker's new suggestions have further complicated the problem without finally solving it. Junker weakens his position rather than strengthening it by extending his hypothesis concerning Wr to the title next to be discussed.

P. 38\*, No. 119. In the monograph mentioned in my last paragraph, Junker again interprets  as the name of the Supreme god in the title  (op. cit. 28f.). Since that title, however, is that of the high-priest of Memphis, Junker has now to assume that  signifies Ptah assimilated to the Supreme god. This is, assuredly, a very tough morsel to digest, but Junker is driven to it, since otherwise the Memphis title, with its initial  (according to Sethe 'greatest of') would provide too attractive an analogy for the title of the Heliopolitan high-priest. Our scepticism increases when we next find Junker explaining the divine name Haroëris (Hr-wr) as Horus identified with the god Wr; for my part I continue to believe that the designation Haroëris was invented in conscious contrast to the god later known as Harpocrates 'Horus the child': Junker's arguments to the contrary I find singularly unconvincing.

P. 54\*, to No. 129. Möller had already quoted the Berlin sarcophagus in this connexion (ZAS LVI, 68), without, however, explicitly equating the 'lector-priest' with the pterophorus. Since my own note was written, Capart has published in Chronique d'Egypte, 1943, 195 ff. scenes from various other late coffins where the lector-priest similarly wears two feathers on his head.

P. 64\*, No. 160. Additional examples of the title n3dy see my Ram. Adm. Doc. 62, ll. 3-6.

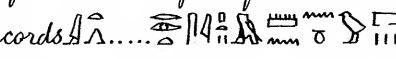
Pp. 73\* ff. Säve-Söderbergh's thoughtful and well documented book raises many of the issues touched on in my discussion of the Medja-people. All authorities seem agreed (op. cit. p. 15, n. 9) that Irjet lay in the neighbourhood of Tomâs. The Wawat of this period I-S. would restrict, on the basis of the graffiti of Ammenemes I (my p. 74\*, bottom) to the

region around Korosko, but this involves his placing Setju, contrary to the opinion of Gauthier (V, 94) and myself, south instead of north of Irtjet. The crucial words, following a longish lacuna, are   Urk. I, 126, 13-4. Whether these words mean 'in the south (lit. front)' of Irtjet and in the north (lit. back) of Setju' or, with a rather improbable apposition (e.g. gramm. § 90, 3), 'in Irtjet (in the) south and in Setju (in the) north,' it can hardly be contested that two limits are being mentioned and that if the south of Irtjet were contiguous with the north of Setju, these words could convey but little sense. It follows that Setju lay to the north of Irtjet, and this could hardly be unless Wawat at that time lay farther north still. S.-S. does rightly in attaching no importance to the order in which these tribal names are generally quoted (p. 14), but when the aforementioned text continues 'I found the chief of Irtjet, Setju and Wawat....' and the same expression occurs a couple of lines later, it is hard not to believe that Setju lay between the two other regions or tribes.<sup>2</sup> Another difficulty about placing Wawat as far south as Korosko is that we are then left without a name for the stretch farther north as far as the First Cataract, some 120 km., for I presume that the area controlled by the princes of Aswan barely extended beyond the cataract. I am surprised that S.-S. does not quote the opening lines of the Shipwrecked Sailor, at all events not at this juncture; the words 'We have reached the end of Wawat, we have passed Denmet (Biggah)' seem to me quite unambiguous, and S.-S.'s remark p. 99, n. 5, appears to me beside the point. But if Setju was situated

<sup>1</sup> For the latter sense the usual expressions are *bnt m..... mht m* (Urk. I, 101, 11; 105, 13; 299, 7; 300, 18) and later *bntt r..... phr r* (or *mht r*), see e.g. gramm. § 179. Breasted's rendering of the words here in question (*Ancient Records*, I, § 336) 'below Irtjet and above Setju' seems to reverse the prepositions; Maspero's treatment of the expression (*Rec. trav.* XV, 103) ignores the difficulty.

<sup>2</sup> It is true, however, that an earlier passage (Urk. I, 125, 8) says 'the neighbourhood of the house of the chief of Setju and of Irtjet', placing Setju first.

downstream from Irtjet, then Iam will have adjoined Irtjet upstream, and Medja will have been the next tribe further south. I therefore see no reason for modifying what I have written on this topic, though I am willing to admit that the evidence is unpleasantly slender. I also admit that my argument (following Weigall) about the activity of the chiefs of Irtjet, Wawat and Iam in dragging down timber for the ships built by Wenii is not worded quite correctly, as the timber is explicitly stated to be 'acacia-wood of Wawat'.

From S.-S. p. 55 I take another example belonging to the early Middle Kingdom where Medja and Wawat are combined and by that fact also contrasted; this is on the chapel of Menthotpe II from Denderah, Ann. Serv. XVII, 229. A graffito dating from the 3rd year of Sesostris II on the road from Aswan to Philae records   'the coming to make an inspection in the fortresses of Wawat' made by a 'treasurer' of the name of Hepu (S.-S. p. 74; de Morgan, Cat. Mon. I, 25, No. 178); Wawat was accordingly by this time a province of considerable extent, starting not far from the First Cataract, but it would be rash to conclude that it already embraced the whole of Lower Nubia, and indeed the name which we attribute to the fortress of Faras *Hsf-Md3w* 'Repelling the Medjay' (my p. 45\*) seems to imply that when that fortress was built, not before the Twelfth Dynasty (S.-S.), attacks by the Medjay might still be anticipated in that neighbourhood.

The book by Säve-Söderbergh naturally contains many other references to the Medjay, see the Index, p. 270. Overlooked on my pp. 77\* f. is Brit. Mus. 278 (*Hierogl. Texts* IV, Pl. 23), the mere fragment of an inscription of Kha-neferre Sekhotep mentioning fights against

the Medjay and also naming Wawat (S.-S. p. 120). The same author, following the lines of similar suggestions in Wainright, Balabish, pp. 6 f., makes the important suggestion that the San-grave people whose cemeteries are found in a number of Upper Egyptian sites S. of Asyût were those of Medjay invaders who had penetrated into Egypt when, after the close of Dyn. XIII, the frontier at the Second Cataract was no longer protected; the Carnarvon Tablet presents Medjay as playing an important part in the war of liberation; and subsequently these foreign auxiliaries (S.-S. calls them Söldner 'mercenaries') became Egyptianized (pp. 130 ff.).

P. 93\*, No. 201, second line. For hw read hw.

P. 93\*, No. 204. A donation stela of Dyn. XXII in New York of which I have a photograph (No. 10,176.42) contains an example of this rare title; the words in question read 'to give my aura which provides food for the guardian of crops of the high-priest of Heliopolis'.

P. 98\*, No. 232. The problem of the Rekhéyet people is dealt with in a footnote by Scharff in his Archäologische Beiträge zur Frage der Entstehung der Hieroglyphenschrift, in Sitz. Bayer. Akad. 1941, 10, n. 2. He mentions the threefold representation of the lapwing on fragments of the earliest dynasties, e.g. Petrie, Royal Tombs, Pl. 2, 15; 15, 113; de Morgan, Préhist. orient. II, 177, fig. 217; 182, fig. 222, and thinks that these groups may have had the same signification as later. Like Gunn and Liretne, he inclines to the view that the Rekhéyet were originally the population of the Delta, the sense subsequently becoming extended to the entire country; and he finds some confirmation of this in having personally seen the bird in the Western Delta, and having learned, on enquiry, that European plovers (Kiebitze) habitually wintered in Lower

Egypt. I cannot see that these observations dispose of my objections and doubts.

P. 149\*, No. 253. Another reference to 'Irrh 'Alalakh' occurs upon an unpublished stela found at Semnah by Reisner and now preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (No. 25,632). The difficulties inseparable from so unusual a text are increased by the loss of considerable portions of eight lines, but the subject appears to be some scornful and sarcastic allusions to various foreigners uttered by Amenophis II as he sat drinking on the anniversary of his accession; for the date see JEA XXXI, 27. Among the northern countries mentioned are two as far distant as Nahrin (On. Am. No. 260) and Sangar (On. Am. No. 286), but further on successive phrases refer to 'Irrh 'Alalakh', 'Irrh' and 'Takhsay' (On. Am. No. 258). On such an occasion the Pharaoh would naturally focus his attention on those foreign rulers with whom he himself had come into conflict or other relations, and the mention of Takhsay and Alalakh points to Amenophis II and tends to confirm Lipsetoff's restoration of the name [Alalakh] on that king's Karnak stela. One is inclined, on the strength of this context, to locate 'Irrh' likewise in North Syria, and it seems probable that this name is to be identified with 'Irrh' in the Soleb list of Amenophis III (Simons, list IX). But the latter place-name, as noted in my p. 177\*, ll. 6 f., has been compared with the Arrapha which was on the site of Kirkuk. If 'Irrh' or 'Irrh' has now to be transplanted to North Syria, that would agree well with my general view of the campaigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty kings. In the list of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu Müller read Irrh, but the true reading is 'Irrh', see Simons, list XXVII, 34, see too Edgerton & Wilson, Historical Records, p. 109.

P. 153\*. See now further Faulkner's article The Euphrates Campaign of Thutmose III in JEA XXXII.

P. 177\*, l. 6, Irrph, see the last note but one.

P. 193\*, l. 4. The wild animal called htnt was probably a bear; see these Additions and Corrections above, p. 265\*.

P. 209\*, l. 13. It is perhaps worth noting that a village called <sup>“</sup>𢃠𢃣𢃤𢃥𢃦𢃧𢃨𢃩𢃪𢃮 (with many variants) existed in that part of Middle Egypt where Spermeru (below, Vol. II, No. 388) was the principal town; see P. Wilbour, Commentary, Table II, No. 50.

P. 209\*, l. 5 from bottom. For and the read and (2) the.

## VOL. II.

P. 3\*. If the view of Griffith recorded below (on p. 21\*) is correct, Su-menu and I-m-iotru mentioned at top right of the map will have to be shifted northward to the level of Br. Rizeikât, for which see the map on p. 23\*.

P. 8\*, No 321, ad fin. In the birth-scenes of Hashepsut the frog-goddess of Hwör (below, No. 379) receives the epithet <sup>“</sup>𢃠𢃣𢃤𢃥𢃦𢃧𢃨𢃩𢃪𢃮 'the white one of Nekhen who brings to birth'. Nav., Deir el Bahari, (II), Pl. 4q = Urk. IV, 225, 17. As Sethe remarked in a footnote to his translation (p. 105, n. 3) of loc. cit., 'the white one of Nekhen' is a common epithet of the vulture-goddess Nekhbet, so that here the two goddesses are identified and this confirms the equation Nekhbet = Bileithyia. — For Nekhbet in general see now Capart, Quelques observations sur la déesse d'El-Kab, Brussels, 1946.

P. 16\*, l. 18. For Hemen read Hemen.

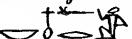
P. 21\*, at top and under No. 331. Whereas until recently all scholars, including Griffith himself, appear unanimously to have located I-m-iotru (Crocodilopolis) at Gebelen, the latter writer, in his posthumous

edition of the demotic texts in The Adler Papyri (Oxford, 1939) writes as follows (p. 64): 'Souchos was god of Crocodilopolis, and Hathor was goddess of Pathyris, the capital of the nome at this time. In spite of the perilous difference in the objects of worship — the cow and the crocodile — these two towns must have been closely connected and very friendly, for their documents are mingled together in each find that is made, those of Pathyris naturally predominating. But the two towns are quite distinct; each had its own notary, and the repayment of a loan by the demotic notary of Pathyris is to be made in the lender's house at Pathyris, while that written by the notary of Crocodilopolis is to be similarly made in Amur (see Adler, dem. 11). In fact there seems little doubt that while Pathyris was at Gebelen itself, Crocodilopolis lay to the north, probably as far away as the eastward bend of the river at Risqat, about fourteen kilometers from Pathyris, and not more than ten kilometers from Hermontis (Armant), with which town we happen to know that it had a fierce quarrel in 123 B.C., perhaps on account of the crocodile'. The grounds given seem rather tenuous, but the new theory would greatly ease the congestion of towns around Gebelen. It is not improbable, then, that Kuentz, following Spiegelberg and others, was right after all in placing Smen (above, p. 20\*, No. 330) at Br. Rizeikât, and in this case I-m-iotru may have been a trifle further north. I know of no justification, however, for Griffith's assertion (op. cit. p. 65) that Sw-mn, in demotic Smn, was the name of the temple or divine residence of I-m-iotru; the places named in On. Am. are probably all, with the exception of the two names of Edfu (Nos. 318-q), separate towns and Smen and I-m-iotru are here separately named, though in close consecution; these towns were, however, close enough to have the same god Suchus.

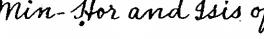
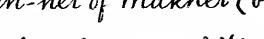
P. 28\*, No. 340. For Min-for see now my P. Wilbour, Commentary,

p. 14, n. 5.

p. 32\*, no. 344 ad fin. Another mention of the town  occurs in a XXIst Dyn. letter (No. 2) belonging to the Due de Valençay, which will be published by me in *Revue d'Egyptologie*, VI.

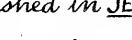
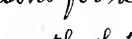
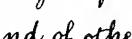
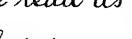
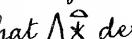
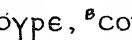
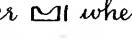
p. 35\*, No. 347 ad fin. Posener has called my attention to the Moscow ostracon No. 4478, presumably of Dyn. XIX, which contains a list of high officials, all provided with fictitious (?) names and headed by the Vizier. In the eighth and ninth places we read  'the overseer of cattle Nebnuf'e' and  'the overseer of horns Khacemtir'; note the det.  in the second of these titles. It appears that this ostracon has been published by Prof. Lourie and Mme. Matthieu, but I am without the reference.

p. 35\*, No. 348. For Abu as a 'popular etymology' for Egyptian  pr 'Pi' compare Abusir =  pr-Wisir.

p. 36\*, No. 351. Černý refers me to the stela published by Randall-Maciver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pls. 31. 34(8), where Pisebkharne (Pausennes), the son of the famous high-priest of Amün Menkheper (Dyn. XXI), receives beside the title of high-priest of Amün the attributes 'prophet of Min-Hor and Isis of Coptus',  'prophet of Amen-her of Makher' (or 'of n-makher') and  'prophet of Amün of Ipy (?!)'. It is tempting, as Černý has seen, to take  as an erroneous writing of  'Ipy' 'This', and in view of the provenance of the stela it is difficult not to connect the previous name with the n-makher-en-Teni of the Golénischeff Onomasticon.

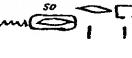
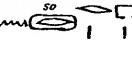
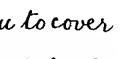
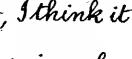
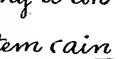
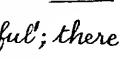
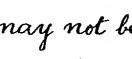
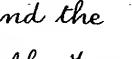
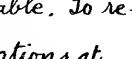
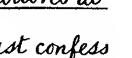
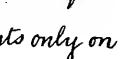
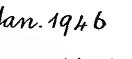
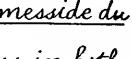
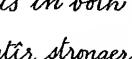
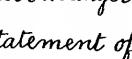
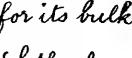
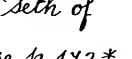
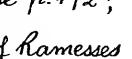
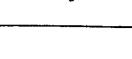
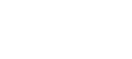
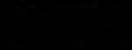
p. 36\*, No. 351A. In *Ann. Serv.* XXXV, 207 ff. Gauthier publishes an altar found (evidently out of place) near the White Monastery

and erected by Psammetichus II in honour of  'Mehyt dwelling in Behdet'. In his comments Gauthier returns to the question of the localization of Eastern Behdet, concluding in favour of the views expressed by Daressy and Kees before him.

p. 90\*, No. 381A. In an article on the inscriptions of Speos Artemidos to be published in *JEA* XXXIII, Fairman and Lydseloff produce convincing reasons for reading  with its many variants as srt 'srt'. On the strength of the simple writing  (once only, however, see my text) and of other evidence to be mentioned immediately, they regard the element  or  as a determinative, and in common with myself and others they recognize from the variant  a connexion with  srt 'sheep'. The importance of their contribution lies in the use made by them of the epithet   accorded to Pakhet in the goddesses' list; they have seen that this is not to be read as 'lady of Sothis' as wrongly rendered in my Table (Pl. 26), but is a writing of the decan name   srt, lk. Σpw. To this ingenious discovery I have contributed my mite by pointing out that  derives this reading from the word  srt 'thorn', Copt. <sup>3</sup>coypē, <sup>3</sup>coypī. The only criticism I have to make is that I doubt whether  when written thus or as  (see Leyden VI, in Pl. 26), is a determinative. Perhaps the place had two names (a) srt 'Thorn', alternatively interpreted as 'The Sheep' and (b) srt-dw 'Mountain-thorn' or 'Mountain-sheep'.

p. 124\*, under No. 394. For nbt nht see now the fuller note in my *P. Wilbour, Commentary*, p. 176, n. 4.

p. 130\*, No. 395, ad fin., with n. 1. A new reading in a very ancient text — the 'biography' of Debehni, *Mrk.* I, 20, temp. Mycerinus — might,

if correct, tend to destroy the distinction drawn by me between  and . The text as given by Sethe reads                               <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyphs: a small oval, a square,

## INDEXES

*by J. W. B. BARNS*

Words in, or numbered items of, one or other of the Onomastica published in this book are printed in **thick** type, R standing for *On. Ram.*, A for *On. Am.*, C and D for the fragments commented on II 256\*ff., U for *Univ.*, and OG 155, 156 for the two ostraca transcribed II 239\*f. Numbers in **thick** type with a following small letter (e.g. 338 A) are taken from sources other than *On. Am.*, but are treated within the Commentary thereon. All other references are to pages of the Text volumes.

### I. GENERAL INDEX OF EGYPTIAN WORDS

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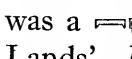
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## LAST-MINUTE ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Printed Text, p. 66. Akin to the rare meaning 'initiate' into (*m*) here attributed to the verb *wn* 'open' is an example where the participle means 'clever', 'intelligent' or the like:  'Lo, His Majesty was clever like Ptah', parallel to 'skilled (*hmww-ib*) like Him-South-of-His-Wall', Petrie, *Six Temples*, pl. 12, 1. 8.

Autographed Text, I 19\*, l. 3 from bottom. For *zab* read *z̄b*.

I 92\*, l. 7. I have strangely overlooked the fact that *whmw kf̄w* must mean '(the herald) who reports captures'; *Wb.* V, 121, 8 gives the title without translation.

I 92\*, No. 198. Another example of this rare title is quoted by Pflüger, *Haremhab und die Amarnazeit*, 12 from Wijngaarden in *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, S. I-III, 1926. It is a stela in honour of one Haremhab who was a  'Chief of the *skt* (*s;kt?*) of the Lord of the Two Lands'. *Hry skt* is found also P. Bologna 1086, 17, the text in connexion with which Wolf quoted the references of *skt* known to him, *ZÄS*, lxv, 94.

I 132\*. A 'Brief Communication' by R. D. Barnett and J. Černý which will appear in *JEA*, xxxiii shows that Hittite cuneiform tablets contemporary with Hattušil III and Tudhaliya IV (*circa* 1250 B.C.) name a prince or king of Carchemish named Ini-tešub. This man is clearly identical with the *In-tbs* named on the Cairo ostraca. The equation is interesting not only on its own account, but also as dating the ostraca to the reign of Ramesses II and as revealing the vocalization of the element *In-*.

I 212\*. O. R. Gurney points out that I have wrongly described as a treaty the Hittite text on the basis of which Weber renounced his former view that Šanhar and Babylonia are identical; in point of fact this text, which is published *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkōi*, xv, No. 34, is an incantation to the 'Cedar gods'. The passage as translated by L. Zuntz in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto*, xcvi (1936-7), 497, runs as follows:<sup>1</sup>

O you male divinities of the cedar, wherever you are, whether in heaven, or on the earth or on the mountains or in the wells or in Mitanni or in Kinza,

<sup>1</sup> One or two improvements due to Gurney have been incorporated.

## LAST-MINUTE ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Tunip, in Ugarit, in Zinzira, in Dunanapa, in Iyarukatta, in Ḫaṭna, in Alalḥa,  
[in . . . . .] -ḥhi, in Amurru, in Sidon, in Tyre, [in . . . . .], in Ugulzit,  
in Araphi, in Zunzura, [or i]n Assur, in Babylon, in Šanhara, in Egypt, [in  
Alaši]<sup>1</sup>ya, in Alziya, in Papahhi, in Kummāḥa,<sup>2</sup> [in . . . . .], in Lulluwa, in  
Arzawa, in [. . . . . . . . .], in [. . . . . . . . .], in Talawa, in Maša, in Garakiša,<sup>3</sup>  
[in . . . . . . . . .], in Mira, in Iyalanta, in Wiluša, [in . . . . . . . . .], in Luhma,  
in . . . . . . . . ., in Šappuwa, in [. . . . . . . . .], in Gašula, in [. . . . . . . . .], in  
Lalḥa, in [. . . . . . . . .], in whatever part ye be, now return again to Ḥatti.

The presence here of Babylon side by side with Šanhara still seems to militate against the equation of the latter with Babylonia, though the demonstrative value of a hymn is less than if the text had been a treaty or formal political document. In my opinion, this one recalcitrant piece of evidence cannot outweigh the considerations which place Šanhara on an equal level of importance with Assur and Egypt, and which therefore confirm the identity with Babylonia. Nor am I shaken in this conclusion by the note published *AJS*L, liii, 253 ff., by Gelb who locates Šanhara in Northern Syria mainly on the ground 'that it cannot be placed anywhere else'. It has been thought desirable to reproduce L. Zuntz's translation in full since the passage contains many place-names that have occurred in my Commentary, and references to the present note will be found in the Indexes under each of the relevant place-names.

II 195\*, l. 4. Delete the word 'Inferior'.

II 213\*, No. 445. The name *tsm(t)* was perhaps suggested by crenellations reminiscent of dogs' teeth.

II 240\* In l. 13  $\text{I}_2\text{I}^{\circ}$ , though clearly so written, is obviously to be emended into  $\text{I}^{\circ}\text{I}^{\circ}$ , No. 598 in. On. Am.

II 253\*, l. 3. *For* l. 17 *read* l. 15.

II 273\* My conjecture that *Irph* of the Boston stela is to be sought in Northern Syria, not at the far distant Kirkuk, is supported by the mention, in the Hittite hymn above translated, of Araphi soon after Sidon and Tyre, and immediately before Zunzura, if this be the Zinzar of the 'Amânah letters; but it must not be overlooked that Zinzira has occurred earlier in the enumeration. Gurney tells me that Araphi does not occur anywhere else in Hittite texts.

<sup>1</sup> So G(urney); Z(untz) . . . . ja. <sup>2</sup> So G; Z. Kummanni. <sup>3</sup> So G; Z. Galkiša.